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XXIV

Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion

edited by Michel Conan

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Introduction: Garden and Landscape Design, from Emotion to the Construction of Self

Michel Conan

Why is there so much silence with respect to the experience of motion in books on garden and landscape design? Is it even possible to experience a garden or a landscape without moving through it? Don't we move through a garden in response to its design? And why do design treatises pay so little attention to this? Probably because of difficulties describing any experience in words, and because the experience of motion is not only awkward to convey in plain English, but it also eludes consciousness. Yet motion is so central an aspect of landscape design, setting it apart from sculpture, painting, or literature, that one has to address motion, however uncharted the waters.

A further difficulty springs out of the elusiveness of the idea of motion itself. At a conference at Oxford in 1911, Henri Bergson (1859–1941)¹ remarked: “We think of motion as if it were made of stillness, and when we look at it, we reconstruct it with the help of moments of stillness. Motion for us comprises one position and then a new one, and so

¹ Bergson deserves the attention of readers of this book. He was hailed as a major philosopher during his lifetime by such men as John Dewey and William James, and he seems to have gone into oblivion with the onset of modernist thought for all but a few philosophers such as Jean Wahl, Emmanuel Levinas, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and Gilles Deleuze. Several recent American books, however, have called the attention of scholars to Bergson's thinking. Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), shows how important he was for the surge of creative artists in Paris at the beginning of the 20th century. Paul Douglass, *Bergson, Eliot and American Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), recalls the import of his work for F. Scott Fitzgerald, Robert Frost, Willa Cather, Henry Miller, T. S. Eliot, and William Faulkner. More recently, *The New Bergson*, ed. John Mullarkey (Manchester, N.Y.: Manchester University Press, 1999) may be of immediate interest for landscape studies. Richard Cohen, “Philo, Spinoza, Bergson: The Rise of an Ecological Age” (*ibid.*, 18–31), shows in what sense Bergson's philosophy can be considered as the starting point for an ecological view that turns away from a scientific reconstruction of the world—seen as motivated by practical interests—toward a view of the world in terms of (1) interpenetrating flows, (2) cumulative growth, and (3) an unpredictable future that results from a growth process fueled by the intertwining of matter and spirit, *physis* and will, reality and desire, order and inspiration. In a letter to James in 1908, Bergson explained that he had been fascinated by the mechanistic theories of Herbert Spencer, and “[i]t was the analysis of the notion of time, as it enters into mechanics and physics, which overturned all my ideas. I saw, to my great astonishment, that scientific time does not endure” (in Douglass, *Bergson, Eliot and American Literature*, 7).

on indefinitely.”² This remark sheds light on a paradox of picturesque travel and, in a more pressing way, on the paradoxes of contemporary tourist travels. Travels through a landscape are thought of as a series of stopovers, moments of rest focused on the contemplation and aesthetic enjoyment of landscapes in perfect stillness, and the more there is motion in the landscape—tumbling waterfalls, sailboats turning a buoy in a regatta, or skiers crashing down a slope—the more aesthetic enjoyment seems to demand that we stand still in front of the landscape. Consequently, the motion of the traveler does not seem open to aesthetic appreciation in picturesque literature.

An example will help illustrate the further difficulties of studying human experiences of time. In 1819 Arsène Thiébaut de Berneaud (1777–1850) published a description of his travels on foot from Paris to Ermenonville in the company of his daughter Uranie³ after the death of his beloved wife Charlotte.⁴ They followed a road across the countryside, running from one small town to the next. Memories crowd the narrative, and landscape descriptions give way to a pageant of famous characters in a shadow-theater. The travel accounts describe the author’s experiences by relating his thoughts and emotions to the places and views he discovered. They give rise to a stream of landscape scenes that conjure up eventful moments in recent history: Saint Gratien calls to mind the wise Catinat, Soisy the general Kellerman, Eaubonne the poet Saint-Lambert and Benjamin Franklin; at Montmorency every place sings the memories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Fig. 1).⁵ Thiébaut de Berneaud might have readily subscribed to Gaston Bachelard’s profound remark: “In its countless alveoli space contains compressed time. Time serves that purpose!”⁶ He might have felt slightly at odds with it, however, because he knew and expressed the fact that time can be experienced according to several different temporalities. In his narrative they belong either to everyday life or to times past, to political history, to family remembrances, to mythical narratives, to travelogues, or to the discourse of science. The stillness of each landscape these two travelers crossed contrasts strikingly with the shifting horizons of temporality which the description of memories brought about by the sense of place the author experienced.

² Bergson, *La Pensée et le mouvant* (Paris: PUF, 1998), 161. This is a central aspect of Bergson’s thinking that introduces a critical appraisal of perception, as can be seen in this passage of *Matter and Memory*: “But we must not confound the data of the senses, which perceive the movement, with the artifice of the mind, which recomposes it. The senses, left to themselves, present to us the real movement between two real halts as a solid and undivided whole. See Bergson, *Matter and Memory* (New York: Zone Books, 1988), 189.

³ She was less than 10 years old at the time and his only child, since his first had died in 1808. Thiébaut de Berneaud, *Voyage à Ermenonville, contenant des anecdotes inédites sur JJ Rousseau, le plan des jardins, et la flore d’Ermenonville publiées pour la première fois par Arsène Thiébaut de Berneaud* (Paris: Imprimerie Dupont, 1819), 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7: “When taking back my eyes onto the plain, I discovered with some pleasure that I was close to objects that bring back memories of Rousseau. Here are the horse-chestnut trees to which he paid such frequent visits; this bench of turf was the confidant of his thoughts, a witness to his loves; these stones, scattered at present, were part of the modest monument dedicated to him in 1791, that the ax of vandals destroyed almost as soon as it had been raised as a token of gratitude.”

⁶ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, with a new foreword by John Stilgoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 8. [French original ed., 1958]



1. *Hermitage of Jean-Jacques Rousseau at Montmorency*

One wonders whether landscape stimulates the imagination of motion only when the traveler comes to a stop,⁷ and whether the same would apply to visiting a landscape garden.

Thiébaud de Berneaud and his daughter arrived in Ermenonville on 20 May 1818, exactly thirty years after Rousseau paid his first visit there, and they spent three days exploring the landscapes created by René-Louis Gérardin. A ramble through the woods that frame the four main large landscape scenes led visitors to discover a series of poetic landscape views of lesser dimensions. Gérardin had designed them to invite flights of imagination and to allow the visitor's mind to shuttle ceaselessly between time present and time past. Places follow one another without any particular sense of order. De Berneaud first discovered, when entering the south landscape facing the house's entrance, the grotto of the Naiads, the Gérardin memorial bench, Rousseau's tomb, the willow of romance, Meyer's tomb, the bench offered to family mothers, and the Tomb of the Young Unknown Lover (Fig. 2). Each of these places stimulates a literary development that bears the marks of the sorrows and concerns of Thiébaud de Berneaud after the death of his wife. Picturesque scenery brings about a fusion of some implied narrative and personal memories, but there is no link between these successive narratives that would stem from motion, the movement from one place to the other within this landscape garden. Thiébaud de Berneaud's grief at

⁷ Thiébaud de Berneaud, *Voyage*, 23: "Travels enchant life by maintaining it in a continuous state of restlessness." He goes on almost immediately to note that one should travel on foot to be free to stop at will in order to observe "the riches that the earth bestows upon the eyes" (*les richesses que la terre prodigue à la vue*).



2. *Tomb of the Unknown Lover*
(from *Alexandre de Laborde, Description
des nouveaux jardins de la France et
de ses anciens châteaux* [Paris, 1808],
pl. 35)

the death of his wife Charlotte and his sense of care for his daughter Uranie are solely responsible for the deep sense of unity that develops in the text describing his reactions to the various landscape sceneries during those three days.

Since designers' attention to the experience of motion in their gardens is usually not recorded, its purpose remains open to interpretation. Gérardin focused attention on the physical experience of walking: he wanted visitors to walk along narrow paths that encouraged solitary meditation, and he set up many paths on sloping embankments forcing visitors to go up and down and to keep changing directions. He wanted the visitor to experience the landscape physically, but he does not mention this among his poetic intentions (Fig. 3). He only mentions the motion of waters and of merchants or local people traveling across the landscape on a road as a source of enjoyment for a visitor who admires the scenery from a fixed vantage point.⁸ He took great pains to inscribe well-framed views with poetic meaning, but the visitor's motion is never imbued with significance. Even though the picturesque landscape at Ermenonville was designed to excite the imagination and aesthetic appreciation of visitors, motion in the landscape was not acknowledged as a

⁸ Gérardin, *De la Composition des paysages* (Geneva: Delaguet, 1777), 64.



3. *View of path (detail) in Ermenonville with Rousseau's tomb on the poplars island (from Alexandre de Laborde, Description des nouveaux jardins de la France et de ses anciens châteaux [Paris, 1808], pl. 34)*

meaningful part of the experience of place. This may sound somewhat paradoxical. Yet even the celebrated path called Painters' Walk, which took the visitor on a one-hour ramble in a sandy wilderness,⁹ does not belie this remark. Thiébaud de Berneaud briefly alludes to his motion and his impressions as he walks up and down along that path and treads on moss carpets. But his attention is turned to swiftly passing scenes that prevent any thought from developing: an exotic plant he recognizes while walking, the song of a thrush heard for a short moment, a rabbit and then a squirrel that cross the path in front of his eyes and disappear, nothing else.¹⁰

Thiébaud de Berneaud's descriptions of his travels to Ermenonville provide a typical

⁹ Painters' Walk is no longer visible. It was traced in the "desert," a celebrated landscape at Ermenonville, among rocks and sandy tracts of land where nature was not landscaped to emulate painting but, to the contrary, was supposed to offer totally new models for painters to imitate.

¹⁰ Thiébaud de Berneaud, *Voyage*, 84–85: "I resumed my walk along the path at the point where it crosses a clump of pines, not very far from the grotto called the Wind's Hollow situated in an exciting location. For a whole hour I walked uphill and downhill. At times I only left a vale covered with sand and heather where melancholy alone broods to reach for high-standing rocks darkened by gales, where lives the solitary *érigéro*, which came from the New World in the 16th century; at other times I walked on carpets of thick moss across colorful bushes and crowns of flowery brambles, or I entered under high vaults of evergreen trees that the nightingale fills with her sweet moans. Everywhere on the rocky ground, shy rabbits were fleeing under the ferns, and nimble squirrels returned in haste to the tree in which is hidden their nest impenetrable to rain."



4. *Le Passe-Pied* by Rameau (from Pierre Rameau, *Abbregé de la nouvelle méthode dans l'art d'écrire ou de tracer toutes sortes de danses de ville* [Paris, 1725], pls. 18, 19)

account of the aesthetic of picturesque travel that was embraced by a large number of people in the nineteenth century. Even now, it heavily influences the contemporary aesthetics of tourism with its ceaseless quest for scenic views and unforgettable snapshots. Contemporary landscapes are scrutinized by tourists in search of cues telling about myth, history, present cultural concerns, or even objects of the natural sciences. All of these function as props for some personal fantasy that makes framed views into poetical landscapes. Should we conclude that landscape design cannot be an art of movement in the same sense as the art of dance, despite the fact that one has to move in order to discover and appreciate landscapes (Fig. 4)?¹¹

¹¹ Attending a dance gives an opportunity to ponder Bergson's remark that movement is not a series of immobilities, but rather a passage from one position to another that is reached by a mental synthesis, and thus cannot be located in space. We should not confuse the space covered by the body between 2 positions and the becoming of the person that we experience as spectators of the dance. Neither is the notation of a dance, as the ones provided by Pierre Rameau in his method for teaching dance of 1725, to be confounded with the movement it prescribes. If it were, we would not be captivated by the performance of some dancers and left indifferent by that of others. The notation may be useful for guiding the dancer into a new interpretation of the dance, but it is only by some kind of laziness that we allow ourselves to confuse notation and performance. They partake of different natures, and the greater our capacity to think in terms of notation, the more hidden to our consciousness becomes the act of performance. In a slightly different way, the more we attend to the letter of a text, the more it obscures our understanding of the movement of thought it is meant to produce.

A Criticism of Cognitivist Approaches to Movement through Landscapes

This is certainly not the case, and motion in the landscape has attracted the attention of behavioral and cognitive psychologists who produced some major works on motion through contemporary landscapes. *The View from the Road* by Donald Appleyard, Kevin Lynch, and John R. Myer¹² or *The Image of the City* by Lynch are still considered to be among the most important contributions to environmental design research. They have stimulated research on contemporary landscapes that is very difficult to emulate in historical research since the approaches depend upon either behavioral observations or systematic surveys of environmental cognition. The major issue, however, stems from a theoretical rather than methodological concern. These works totally neglect noncognitive aspects of human experience. By adopting a broader perspective we can examine more closely the criticisms that can be addressed to this contribution and bring to light hopes for a renewal of scholarship in this domain. Lynch (1918–1984) is still considered “the leading environmental design theorist of our times.”¹³ His studies of how people perceive and organize their environment culminated in a classic of twentieth-century planning literature, *The Image of the City* (1960), which relies on systematic attention to people’s movements in a city. Lynch felt that cities and even large metropolises must have a perceptible form in order for them to provide effective shelter for human activities. And he argued that “since individuals do in fact move and act frequently over metropolitan distances,”¹⁴ they must be able to perceive form on a metropolitan scale. All forms are not, however, equally effective, and Lynch expected that the knowledge of how form operated might open possibilities for improvements to city form. Thus city form was equated with an organization of a mental representation of the city or metropolitan space, which he called the “image of the city.”

Interestingly, one of the first publications to present Lynch’s study of urban perception, “where responses have been recorded while actually moving through the city itself,”¹⁵ was an article entitled “A Walk around the Block.” A sample group of people were taken on a walk around a block in downtown Boston after they had been instructed to report “the things you see, hear, or smell; everything or anything you notice.”¹⁶ The research was pursued by asking the respondents the things and events that they had noted, and they were given a set of photographs of buildings, street views, pavements, details to see which ones they remembered seeing during the walk. Surprisingly, the analysis grows out of an experience of movement but focuses entirely on the discovery of a set of discrete perceptions of things or events that seeks the sources of order in the resulting mental organization. The experience of moving around the block is not the topic being researched but rather a device to gather information about the mental image of the block.

¹² Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer, *The View from the Road* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964).

¹³ Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth, eds., *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990).

¹⁴ Lynch, “The Visual Shape of the Shapeless Metropolis,” in Banerjee and Southworth, *City Sense*, 66.

¹⁵ Lynch, “A Walk around the Block,” in Banerjee and Southworth, *City Sense*, 185; also in *Landscape* 8 (3) (1959): 24–34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 184.

The same remark applies to *The Image of the City* and to its practical applications to several cities, such as the “Analysis of the Visual Form of Brookline, Massachusetts” in 1965.¹⁷ The topic, or the object of research, is a mental structure supposedly fixed in the mind of all inhabitants, the mental image of the city, which is thought to be a condition for efficient and meaningful use of the city in everyday life. It does not study the way in which motion within the city is experienced. Rather, it suggests that moving is experienced—more or less pleasantly—according to the legibility of the image of the city. The study of motion through the city was only a means to indirectly obtain knowledge of the mental representation of the city form, that is, of the fixed image assumed to underlie all cognitive appraisals directing motion through the city. Thus Lynch’s object of research seems quite different from the one we are addressing, the experience of motion. At least one study of the experience of motion with which he was involved made use of the same methodological and theoretical assumptions as *The Image of the City*, and it deserves careful attention since it has also been very influential in framing discussions of landscape architecture.

Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer’s alternate design for a proposed beltway in Boston in 1963 prompted an important book, *The View from the Road*, which opens with a study of the highway experience, calling attention to the different perspectives that are adopted by a tourist, a commuter, the driver, or a passenger.¹⁸ It stresses the importance of motion: “The sensation of driving a car is primarily one of motion and space. Vision, rather than sound or smell, is the principal sense. Touch is a secondary contributor to the experience via the response of the car to hands and feet.” This leads quickly to the conclusion that “the driving experience can now be described as being a sequence played to the eyes of a captive . . . audience, whose vision is filtered and directed forward.”¹⁹ A driver’s point of view is adopted, and it is asserted that “the driver is engaged in building a locational image of his environment, and in orienting himself within this environment” and that “movement along the road consists of a succession of approaches to goals. These are the prominent landmarks or focal points that the observer moves towards, attains, and passes by, or which represent his final destination.”²⁰

Thus the study concentrates on the reconstruction of the locational image a driver would derive from traveling along a particular stretch on an urban motorway which is assumed to be shared by “middle-class people to whom the road is not a matter of long habit,”²¹ and to most commuters, except at night and at rush hour. The research sought locations at which a driver’s attention is compelled to focus on a common object, by demanding from the subjects, driving a car with the observer, an outpouring of very fast reactions to the visual scenery, either in words or in crude sketches. It concluded that “the essential experience of the highway consists in the perception of roadside detail, the sense

¹⁷ Lynch, “An Analysis of the Visual Form of Brookline, Massachusetts,” in Banerjee and Southworth, *City Sense*, 287–315.

¹⁸ Appleyard et al., *The View from the Road*, 4.

¹⁹ Ibid., 6.

²⁰ Ibid., 14.

²¹ Ibid., 27.

of motion and space, the feeling of basic orientation, and the apparent meaning of the landscape.”²² There is much in common between this study and the previous ones. Research method and object seem to form such a strong pair that it is not surprising that they have all been considered to be studies of the experience of motion through a city landscape. So let us proceed to a deeper questioning of their assumptions.

All of them build upon the assumption that environmental behavior is a function of the environment. They hold that motion in an environment is dependent upon identifying objects or events, seeking a goal, thinking, deciding. As a consequence, they construct methods of inquiry that ask the respondents to identify objects, spaces, and events; develop a representation of an itinerary; and imagine their choices along the way. They assume that motion depends on a mental image; they construct questionnaires that look for elements of an image in disconnected pieces of information provided by their informers. Then they use them to construct a shared mental image from the elements most commonly mentioned, unwittingly closing a circular piece of reasoning.²³ In doing so, they acknowledge only the kinds of motion that happen when a subject consciously attends to his movements. Yet most movements are accomplished in a habitual way, and, as David Seamon says, cognition plays only a partial role in everyday spatial behavior, many of our movements involve a prereflexive knowledge of the body, and this bodily knowledge is not a structure separate from the cognitive structure of spatial behavior but works in frequent reciprocity with it.²⁴

If you entertain any doubt about prereflexive knowledge of the body, try to explain how to knot a tie to a child who has one in his hands for the first time. You will discover that you cannot explain the motions he should perform when you are looking at him or at his tie, even though you can easily do them in front of him, without the help of a mirror, when the tie is around your own neck. It shows that your body does not rely upon a description of this action in terms of a sequence of decisions to perform the required gestures. Some actions can be performed in such a prereflexive way, others demand clear knowledge and decision making. We live in two different worlds: the lifeworld and the world of science and technology. In the first one we see the sun rise every morning above the surface of the Earth where we stand in perfect stillness; in the other one we know that

²² Ibid., 21.

²³ In a late reassessment of *The Image of the City* in 1985 (“Reconsidering *The Image of the City*,” in Banerjee and Southworth, *City Sense*, 248–49), Lynch shows that he was totally unaware of the circularity of reasoning in which his research was involved and insists, on the contrary, that “the existence and role of the place image, its basic elements, and the techniques of eliciting and analyzing it seem astonishingly similar in some very diverse cultures and places.” He continues by referring to the “true mental image, so deeply lodged in the mind.” This is somewhat surprising because in the same text (250) he states, “The study never proved its basic assumption, except indirectly, via the emotional tone of the interviews: the repeated remarks about the pleasure of recognition and knowledge, the satisfaction of identification with a distinctive home place, and the displeasure of being lost or of being consigned to a drab environment. Succeeding studies have continued to collect this indirect evidence.” It certainly shows that Lynch was not only a great innovator in methods and interpretation but also a very critical mind. Unfortunately he was not very interested in reading essays in psychology (ibid., 247–48), and he probably never pondered the phenomenology of perception.

²⁴ Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest and Encounter* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1979), chap. 4, “Habit and the Notion of Body-Subject,” 38–45.

the sun does not move, but the Earth does and we do. Seamon's geography of the lifeworld deals at length with movement and proposes a method of inquiry that aims to describe the subjectivity at play in events or phenomena under scrutiny. It starts from a clear criticism of behaviorism and cognitivism in studies of motion²⁵ and introduces an alternative perspective inspired by Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception*.²⁶

Merleau-Ponty's book, published in 1945 and translated only in 1962, provides a penetrating criticism of behaviorist and intellectualist perspectives—out of which cognitivism developed—as well as a phenomenological approach to perception.²⁷ His arguments build upon four different sources: Edmund Husserl's criticism of Cartesian metaphysics,²⁸ Bergson's criticism of dualism,²⁹ experimental Gestalt psychology,³⁰ and clinical observations of perception disorders linked to various pathologies. They provide a precisely documented criticism of the reductive view of human experience that grows out of the transportation of models from the empirical sciences into studies of human psychology. Let us highlight three points. To begin with, behaviorist and cognitive psychology are not dismissed, but rather shown to proceed from very particular horizons of understanding which frame specific horizons of perception. The knowledge gained from them may be valid with respect to the frames of experiment or scientific observation they have created, but they do not inform human perception when ordinary circumstances prevail, such as the different habitual perceptions in everyday life for people of various cultures, engaged in all sorts of activities and in different emotional contexts. Second, they assume that the object of perception is always clear, and that it may be fuzzy only because of a lack of attention. Instead, Merleau-Ponty insists that fuzziness and indeterminacy should be treated and studied as positive phenomena in human perception. Behaviorists entertain an image of man as robot (a reinvention of Descartes's man as machine), while cognitivists entertain an image of man as a cybernetic machine, failing to heed the profound remark by Norbert Wiener that computers, however much faster than human minds in dealing with logical calculus, were completely unable to process fuzzy ideas, a domain in which the human mind excelled.

Third, this entails a thorough criticism of associationism. The idea that a visual expe-

²⁵ Ibid., chap. 3, "Cognitive and Behaviourist Theories of Movement," 33–37.

²⁶ Ibid., chap. 5, "Merleau-Ponty and Learning for Body-Subject," 46–53.

²⁷ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (New York: Humanities Press, 1962).

²⁸ Merleau-Ponty gives references for 11 titles by Husserl, several of which he had consulted before publication. This was the case for vols. 2 and 3 of *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendente Phänomenologie*, the first volume of which had been published in Belgrade in 1936. He mentions Husserl, *Méditations Cartésiennes* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1931), which is available in English as well: Husserl, *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology*, trans. Dorion Cairns (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960).

²⁹ "The true ally of Bergson is of course neither Aristotle nor Hegel before him but Merleau-Ponty after him. The whole of his posthumous work, *The Visible and the Invisible*, published in 1964, for instance, is a working out, an elaboration and development of fundamental Bergsonian themes, the intertwining of sense and significance, mind and body, spirit and matter." Cohen, "Philo, Spinoza, Bergson," 27.

³⁰ Merleau-Ponty's bibliography gives a large number of references to publications on Gestalt psychology in German, English, and French; e.g., Wolfgang Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology* (London: Bell, 1930) and Kurt Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1935).

rience derives its meaning from its association with the meaning of a previous visual experience simply assumes an automatic linkage of present with previous experience. It implies that the mind functions like a computing machine that fails to know why its results are true. Moreover, it presupposes that we understand how the previous visual experience acquired meaning when this is exactly what it was supposed to explain for the present visual experience. "An experience can never associate itself to another impression by its own power. It no longer has the power to give rise to other impressions. This may happen only under the condition that it is first *understood* from the perspective of past experience in which it was sharing with the experience to be awakened."³¹ Thus the relation between the past and present impressions depends upon the horizon of understanding with which we approached both of them. This horizon of understanding proceeds from the world environment within which we anchor our own bodily self. When sitting in a train running through a forest we see the inside of the carriage, the seats, the photographs hanging under the rack as perfectly still, while the forest trees outside are rushing backwards. On the other hand, if we move to the carriage door and allow ourselves to stand outside on the steps of the open door, the trees stand still and we can see and experience the train and our own self swiftly rushing ahead.

Thus movement is relative to our engagement with the world. "Once we are engaged in a world environment, movement appears to us in the absolute."³² This illustrates that in order to understand the perception of motion, before we take into account any cognitive functions, we should understand the choice, much more secretly hidden from our conscious reflection, of the world environment into which we engage ourselves and from the vantage point of which we experience motion.³³ That is to say, to unravel the experience of motion we should first unravel the experience of the specific world from which it proceeds, which is selected from among all possible cultural or emotional worlds with which we can engage. This is a central question for the study of motion in gardens, because gardens offer themselves as small worlds in their own right, offering the possibility of shifting away from the topicality of the everyday world. This is also why the study of motion in gardens may help us learn something about the deeper life of consciousness that underlies perceptive activities. This volume offers a renewal of approaches to motion in gardens and designed landscapes by engaging broader aspects of human experience. Its preparation stemmed from the assumption that our everyday movements are prereflexive and involve a prereflexive knowledge of the body common to many phenomenological studies developed in the United States since the 1970s.³⁴

Phenomenology emerged out of a critical reading of Descartes's "Discourse on Method"

³¹ Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945), 25.

³² Ibid., 324.

³³ For a more recent treatment of aesthetic engagement indebted to Merleau-Ponty, see Arnold Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), and *Art and Engagement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

³⁴ E.g., see Buttner, "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld," *Annals of the American Geographers* 66 (1976): 277–92, and Yi-Fu Tuan, "Place: An Experiential Perspective," *Geographical Review* 65 (1975): 151–65.

by Husserl. Descartes, in an effort to provide a firm foundation for his ideas, had begun by systematically calling into question his perceptions and his thoughts. He concluded that since we can only be certain that we think, we exist as thinking beings. *Cogito ergo sum*. Husserl wondered who was the subject who thought this idea. He assumed that there was a transcendental ego which made all men and women humans in the same prereflexive way, and that this discovery had escaped notice by Descartes himself. He further proposed to study how this transcendental subject engages in intentional relationships with the world in order to understand how perceptions and ideas are constituted. His approach involves only perception and imagination. Later phenomenologists gave precedence to language and speech. They nevertheless maintained an interest in the discovery of universal aspects of the mind that operate at a prereflexive level and upon which cultural differences and conscious ideas are predicated. In a very interesting remark quoted by David Seamon in his book on the geography of the lifeworld, Ann Buttimer clearly posed the reciprocity and the distinction between rest and movement, territory and range, community building and social organization, and suggested that “these experiences may be universal among the inhabitants of Planet Earth.”³⁵ The authors of this book, however, neither chose to privilege phenomenological approaches nor confirmed this universalism. Nor did they adopt a cognitivist stance. Instead they displayed a good deal of methodological ingenuity and showed how prereflexive ideas of self, space, time, or motion reflect cultural differences. The resulting analyses as a whole can read as a critical development of phenomenological approaches, opening a central discussion of intersubjectivity and of its role in the construction of individual experience. It certainly yields new insights into the relationship between landscape design and the experience of motion.

A Survey of the Contents

It would have been arbitrary to concentrate on one period or place in garden history in order to explore the variety of questions that may arise when studying the experience of motion and its relationship to garden design. This volume takes the opposite tack and embraces the challenges of cultural diversity. As a consequence, each contribution in this volume stands in some way apart from all others. It would be closer to the truth, however, to say that as a whole the contributions entertain a large number of relationships among them, clustering in different ways according to the question raised. The chapters of this volume are organized in order to answer the straightforward question: What do they contribute to an understanding of relationships between landscape design and the experience of motion?³⁶

The first part of this volume, “Beyond the Picturesque” (chaps. 1–3), demonstrates

³⁵ Seamon, *A Geography*, chap. 17, “Movement and Rest,” 131.

³⁶ The word *picturesque* derives from a technical word in Italian, *pintoresco* or *pittoresco*, which characterized an impressionist technique used by Venetian painters to paint natural backgrounds. It became used in English discussions of aesthetics to characterize the quality of paintings such as a Dutch farmyard or a hay wagon crossing a muddy field, which would not have been thought worthy of attention in the real world, and could not be qualified as either beautiful or sublime because they depicted scenes that would not have

vividly how much attention to the experience of motion rules out the still-dominant picturesque aesthetic in landscape design. It is somewhat astonishing to realize that this was already understood as a most central issue by Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld at the end of the eighteenth century, and that it is at the heart of some new approaches in landscape design by Bernard Lassus in France and Patricia Johanson in the United States today. One may note, however, that rather than leading to a new style or a single new aesthetic, the contemporary attention to motion and the rejection of the picturesque may open many directions for the art of landscape design. The next four chapters in Part 2, “Modalities of Movement in a Garden and Their Representation,” concentrate on behavioral aspects of motion in designed landscape, revealing how culture impinges as much on behavior itself as on the experience of motion. It draws upon examples taken from the Roman Empire, Western societies since Byzantium, Japan in the Middle Ages, and Europe after the Industrial Revolution. The last three chapters in Part 3, “Culture and Meaning,” show that landscape design can provide definite experiences of motion that contribute to the development of important meanings in cultural life. They set out to explore how and under which conditions the experiences of motion created by landscape architecture play a role in these cultural changes. Let us turn to a closer examination of each chapter’s contribution to an understanding of relationships between landscape design and experience of motion (not to be mistaken for a summary). Then I will discuss some of the major contributions of this volume to Landscape Studies that emerge from dialogues and relationships among the texts rather than from the authors’ deliberate intentions.

Beyond the Picturesque

Linda Parshall shows that movement was central to garden creation and experience for C.C.L. Hirschfeld (1742–1792) in “Motion and Emotion in C. C. L. Hirschfeld’s *Theory of Garden Art*.” She stresses further that it led him to a radical criticism of comparisons between landscape gardening and landscape painting. According to Hirschfeld, gardens should be designed to imitate nature. They should also stir emotions, and this emotive

deserved attention in reality, and yet were pleasant in representation. William Gilpin (1724–1804), who was well versed in the appreciation of engravings, produced a study of picturesque beauty, as he called it, and published a series of illustrated narratives of his travels throughout various English regions in which he demonstrated how a tourist can look at scenic landscapes as if they were picturesque inkwashes or watercolors, and eventually make a sketch of them. It promoted a new type of aesthetic attention that was appropriated by English aristocrats in order to assault the Brownian aesthetic of landscape gardening and its most eminent representative, Humphry Repton. The picturesque aesthetic signals the triumph of a purely visual appreciation of landscape over poetical, idyllic, or mythical approaches that had been dominant in garden art since the Renaissance all over Europe. Frederick Law Olmsted created masterpieces of picturesque landscape architecture and helped establish its reign over U.S. landscape architecture for a century. Thus any natural-looking landscape can be said, at present, to be picturesque. Picturesque aesthetic, however, could apply to all sorts of objects besides paintings and natural landscapes, and it became applied during the 19th and 20th centuries to so many situations that the word *picturesque* has almost lost any clear meaning in common language. See, e.g., *Three Essays: On picturesque beauty, On picturesque travel, and On sketching landscape: to which is added a poem on landscape painting* (London: printed for Lamire, 1794; repr. ed., Farnborough: Gregg, 1972).

response should be brought about by the experience of moving through them. This sets gardens apart from landscape painting which imitates nature but into which one cannot move. As opposed to architecture or landscape painting, gardens also embody the motions of nature and of men through nature, and visitors who explore them are invited to respond through their affects and through their imagination. Gardens should allow their visitors to engage in dramatic encounters with nature. Thus Hirschfeld moved away from the picturesque aesthetics of English landscape gardening from which he drew his inspiration. Despite his interest in visual appreciation, it led his attention away from pictorial qualities toward situations allowing for an interplay of the senses and of imagination. He proposed a new perspective for the art of landscape design that is echoed throughout this volume: neither as a collection of picturesque views to be experienced in stillness, nor as a multiplicity of moving scenes to be experienced in motion, gardens as works of art should call upon the visitor's imagination to produce a sense of its dramatic unity. Thus narratives rather than pictures would appear as the best way for representing gardens.

Hirschfeld was far from insensitive to the picturesque in designed landscape, but he saw it as subordinate to a broader engagement of landscape beholders with nature. Stephen Bann moves his own criticism of the picturesque aesthetics for landscape design in a different direction in "Sensing the Stones: Bernard Lassus and the Ground of Landscape Design." Bann shows how recent works of Lassus, a contemporary French landscape designer, break away from deep-rooted visual habits that laid the groundwork for the primacy of a perspectival visual field. Rather than defending a narrative of progress, he wants to suggest that this new aesthetic—which is also at the root of Land Art—can be seen as a reinvention of artistic sensibilities of the early seventeenth century. It arises from a specific interest in the countryside as a source of local identity that can only be known through bodily and sensual exploration, as opposed to the city where visibility and cognition take precedence. The parallel with early seventeenth-century painting enables Bann to show how Lassus's work explores ancient sensibilities in a new key. Following Lassus's own description, for pedagogical purposes, of a walk in the gorges of the Aradin torrent, which contrasts the primacy of vision and intellect in city landscape with the primacy of tactile and bodily intelligence in rural landscape, Bann stresses how motion through two recent projects by Lassus yields new aesthetic experiences. In the Garden of Returns at Rochefort, Lassus creates visual obstacles and choices during a visit and stimulates meaningful tactile differences under foot. These aesthetic experiences invite a mental reconstruction of the site with its historical and cultural context. In the Crazannes project where stillness and motion allow and enforce the separation of tactile and visual experience, and where public space is designed to enhance privacy, the result is the invention of a new kind of place, obfuscating the limits of public and private.

Thus Lassus's works can be seen to contribute to a shift away from a three-hundred-year-long visual culture that recaptures more ancient attitudes and takes them in new directions. This shares with Hirschfeld a sense of the importance of memory and imagination when taking stock of the experience of motion through a landscape. The next chapter explores still another form of engagement with nature, taking visual culture in an alto-

gether different direction, bearing the mark of contemporary concerns in the United States.

Patricia Johanson's reflections upon her own design approaches, in "Beyond Choreography: Shifting Experiences in Uncivilized Gardens," display a central attention to motion and to possible shifts in its meaning. She draws upon some of her projects and realized works to provide a few clear-cut descriptions of the relationships between her design intentions and the twofold experience of motion she expects garden visitors to share. In the wake of contemporary discussions of ecology, Johanson sees all of nature in perpetual flux, animated by ecological cycles resulting from patterns and processes that are in motion themselves. She wants her own landscape designs to entice people into discovering landscapes that have their own integrity and to allow each visitor to venture into a deeper engagement with nature regardless of age, cultural background, or previous visits to the place. To that end Johanson aims to create an uncivilized landscape, centered neither on human values nor on any idealized ecological process, by allowing overlapping, discontinuous, and shifting patterns found in nature to produce the landscape display and its changing form and content over time. In order to entice visitors to explore this landscape, she usually creates some monumental pathway, borrowing structural features of a life-form that dwells there to give it an intriguing shape, to stimulate curiosity, and to invite exploration on foot. This is not, however, a stroll garden as defined by John Dixon Hunt in a later chapter, since it reaches beyond the satisfaction of aesthetic curiosity, toward a shift in the visitor's mind-set. It capitalizes on the contemporary taste for picturesque wandering to lead visitors from movement into stillness and engagement with nature. Then in perfect stillness they can discover, according to the sophistication of their own ecological culture, that nature is in motion at any place. This is not a didactic landscape, however. To be precise, it aims to move a visitor's frame of mind from self-conscious observation of curiosities in the outside world to an attention to processes in nature and ways they can impinge upon one's life—hence the importance of the experience of danger in uncivilized nature.

Thus attention to the experience of motion in a garden or a landscape does not appear confined to academic interests, but turns out to be a central concern for contemporary landscape artists who explore the world beyond the limits set for their work by picturesque aesthetics. One notices also that these explorations do not proceed from a modernist will to erase the past but rather from efforts to express newly developing cultural attitudes toward nature, city life, and the senses, and that they force the reexamination of some of the tenets of Renaissance culture inherited from European and American elites. Thus the roles of individual visitors in the interpretation of place seem to become much more prominent, inviting artists to address not only all their senses, but their imagination and their memories as well, in such ways that they may engage in creative encounters with nature.

Modalities of Movement in a Garden and Their Representation

The second part turns to a study of behaviors in their cultural context. It presents different ways of moving through a garden that give rise to their own range of garden or landscape experiences. Very interestingly, it also shows how walks have been designed to represent other modes of motion in nature, such as swimming, boating, riding, or traveling

by train, disproving at once that the significance of motion could be reached by a purely behavioristic inquiry. Thus these four chapters introduce new approaches to the study of behavior, placing them in different cultural perspectives.

In the absence of written accounts of the experience of motion in the pools of Roman gardens, Ann Kuttner attempts to reconstruct the horizon of perception against which Roman courtiers or aristocrats could make sense of these experiences in “Delight and Danger in the Roman Water Garden: Sperlonga and Tivoli.” In order to breathe some life into a description of the iconography of these gardens, she weaves into her text three complementary studies dealing, first, with the sense and experience of nature in Roman culture, second, with experiences of water represented in Roman literature and the arts, and, third, with the role of water in private and public expressions of imperial propaganda. Then, moving among these sources of interpretation, she explores the two water gardens, at Sperlonga and Tivoli, in turn. Romans thought that nature, which included humans, was in a constant flux, being animated by the gods and many supernatural beings, and that some events could be generating agents for the natural landscape. So special places embodied supernatural forces that impacted history and landscape, and remained active as landscape agents. Kuttner shows how important and distinctive the role of water was for Romans in that context. She outlines in the two imperial water gardens the range of meanings and motions that were brought into play by representations of special places directly bound to powerful experiences of water. She shows in particular how swimming or walking in these gardens could stand for other motion in the seas. These ranges differ in the two gardens, but in each of them they offer emotions or meanings that our own culture keeps apart, such as eroticism, fantasy of decoration, and moral education. Within each of these gardens, hosts and visitors would have the possibility, as they moved on the water, into it, or alongside it, to engage with the representations of powerful places embodying natural forces. Kuttner proposes that the contrasting experiences of immediate pleasures and tragic memories of fateful events would procure a cathartic experience for the garden users, allowing them a cleansing from any sense of present exhaustion and protection from past or future anxieties.

In “Mountain, Temple, and the Design of Movement: Thirteenth-Century Japanese Zen Buddhist Landscapes,” Norris Brock Johnson strives to describe paths and movements and to give a sense of the radical difference between our own and a Zen Buddhist experience of motion in a designed landscape. He highlights a few features of two temple garden landscapes, *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*, designed as places for training monks by a Buddhist monk, Musō Kokushi (1275–1357), to emulate his own exploration of mountains during his quest for enlightenment. Both comprise a lower level with a monastery, a lake, and its landscape, separated by steep paths from higher levels in the mountain. The ascending paths were designed to create a succession of different experiences: first, a sense of rising above the monastery heightened by the difficulty of the climb; second, an experience of awareness of the mountain nature to be reached through meditation in stillness. Thus motion seems to lead to contemplation in stillness. Such a clear-cut distinction between motion and stillness, however, does not apply here. The ascent was meant to stimulate an experi-

ence of contemplative motion, and some meditating places in the mountain were designed for contemplating experiences of motion through the mountains by Musō or his Chinese predecessors. The designed landscape offered props for engaging in a definite cultural quest, a personal movement toward enlightenment. Behavior derives its meaning from the quest for enlightenment. This is a serious game of emulation in which physical moves had no meaning of their own and made sense only from the perspective of the monk achieving them. Walking up into the mountain in these temple landscapes may be as important an activity as walking around the pools at Sperlonga or Tivoli, yet they seem hardly comparable activities.

Out of the apparently infinite variety of ways of moving on foot in a garden, John Dixon Hunt distinguishes three fundamentally different ones—the procession or ritual walk, the stroll, and the ramble—in “‘Lordship of the Feet’: Toward a Poetics of Movement in the Garden.” They result from different intentional approaches to the garden by visitors. The ritual walk or procession results from some cultural habit that imposes itself upon the visitor; the stroll from a will to achieve with some sense of purpose a final destination, while surrendering along the way to visual distractions offered by the garden design; and the ramble from a deliberate surrender of the visitor to the pleasures of unexpected garden experiences. This phenomenology of the will offers a starting point for further reflection upon garden poetics, warning against any simplistic account that would match a garden style to a kind of motion on foot. Examples ranging from the *sacri monti* of fifteenth-century Italy to contemporary gardens in California demonstrate how some garden forms and designed features may be more conducive than others to one kind of exploration on foot. The choice of walk also results from cultural interpretations that may make, for instance, almost any garden into a place for ritual exploration. In addition, gardens may have been designed for more than one kind of movement, or because of changes in cultural practice they may give rise to some kinds of motion they have not been designed for, thus altering deeply the way they are experienced even if they are maintained almost identically to the original design. This has been especially true for gardens attended by tourists who follow a guidebook, since at least the eighteenth century. Thus landscape design may simply aim to make walking, strolling, or wandering possible since these are intentional behaviors that can be engaged in within any culture and in any place. The next chapter goes one step further and suggests that landscape design may influence the experience of walking in even more subtle ways.

In “When the Railway Conquered the Garden: Velocity in Parisian and Viennese Parks,” Anette Freytag explores the impact of modern transportation upon the experiences of landscape, space, time, travel, and speed. The railway ushered in a new world created by modern industry, creating new relationships to the landscape, in ways that have been reflected in the works of landscape designers as well as painters. Two major public parks, one in Vienna the other in Paris, were designed in order to provide vicarious experiences of the new relationships to the countryside that the railway afforded. Both parks provided representations of a celebrated landscape made accessible by train, of the inscription of the railway—symbolized by elevated bridges—that created a harmonious image of modern industry and pastoral landscape, and they even integrated a train within the parks, bringing

closer the experience of riding the train. But, more interestingly, the design of pathways in the two parks themselves paralleled the differences between the experience of motion by train through the countryside and motion on foot in the country. Freytag proceeds, at the end of this chapter, to show that a new jump in train technology triggered new efforts in landscape design in Paris, to provide a simulacrum of the new relationships to distance and speed, for visitors to a garden in Paris above the Montparnasse railway lines that depart for the Atlantic coast. Thus the design of walks in a landscape may aim to simulate the differences between the physical exertion, the density of the visual field, and the sensual proximity of nature when riding, driving, or walking.

Freytag rejoins Kuttner when she shows that some walkways were designed to create vicarious experiences of different kinds of travel over a landscape. Their studies open a new direction for the analysis of the experience of walking, and they invite further investigation into the complex meanings that can be represented to the mind of a visitor by its motion through a garden.

Culture and Meaning

The last part of the book explores how experiences of motion—irrespective of a particular mode of movement, even though some kind of walk is prevalent—become meaningful, and it highlights very important cultural differences. Stanislaus Fung highlights some of the misunderstandings that result from a lack of attention to cultural differences in the study of the experience of motion in “Movement and Stillness in Ming Writings on Gardens.” Professor Chen Congzhou published in 1983 a short but influential text on Chinese gardens that claimed that the distinction between viewing in repose and viewing in motion must be the first and foremost consideration in the design of gardens. This has been understood by students of Chinese gardens as an invitation to study Chinese garden design in terms of organization of space, objects, and movement between them. Turning to a selection of Ming essays that account for Chinese ways of experiencing gardens and landscape, Fung exposes the misunderstandings behind this interpretation. They rest upon fundamental differences between Western and Chinese culture: Motion and stillness, full and empty, or object and void should not be conceived—in a Western positivistic way—as mutually exclusive categories, but rather as mutually embedded correlates. Besides, viewing in repose in gardens does not refer to appreciation of scenic compositions, but to self-cultivation and a quest for the fusion of self and object. Repeatedly Fung warns against the temptation to read Chinese culture in terms borrowed from a Western horizon of understanding, and he supports with examples his criticism of idealist, behaviorist, ecological, and phenomenological approaches.

These Ming gardens were designed by men seeking to achieve a sense of detachment from human desires. These gardens offered a means to engage with the natural forces immanent in the landscape: winding paths opening onto varied sceneries as a support for “pursuing depth of the heart,” and places for standing in stillness and developing “remoteness of the senses” while viewing the mountains, attending to the control of one’s breath, or engaging in scholarly activity. Thus the experiences of stillness and motion seem to be

paramount for Chinese garden design, as noted by Professor Chen, and yet to evade precise normative implications for physical design.

Michael Charlesworth provides a discussion of the experience of moving in the garden at Stourhead in “Movement, Intersubjectivity, and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead.” He wants to show, first, how a visitor is made to discover a fictional space, enter it, and discover himself as a subject in the corresponding fiction, and, second, how a classical topos—Hercules’ choice between vice and virtue—has been reappropriated as a statement in the bourgeois discourse of laziness and industry between mid-eighteenth- and mid-nineteenth-century England. This essay shows how movement in a garden which both represents and embodies the discourse of laziness and industry in the eighteenth century contributed to the development of a shared understanding of and intersubjective adherence to, mercantile morality in a way that still resonates today. It suggests that movement through a garden may induce special feelings or emotions when a succession of inscriptions compels visitors to become subjects within a discourse that links past and present culture and some of their own and the designer’s concerns. It calls for attention to cultural discourse rather than iconological interpretation and for structural analysis of texts in gardens as parts of a dialogue involving the reader rather than a reading of each emblematic inscription as a disembodied quotation to be understood by itself.

In “Landscape Metaphors and Metamorphosis of Time,” I pursue the discussion of relationships between cultural discourse and landscape design initiated by Charlesworth and take it in a slightly different direction, returning to the interest in landscape narrative to which Parshall calls attention in her chapter. This last chapter seeks to highlight and define a specific figure of landscape design that I call “the landscape metaphor.” It results from the interactions among certain designed features of a garden or landscape, a visitor’s memories of moving among them, and a cultural narrative it forcibly calls to mind, such as the choice between vice and virtue of Cardinal Hippolyte II at the Villa d’Este in Tivoli, or the sufferings of Christ on his way to Calvary in a pilgrimage to a *sacro monte*. In spite of important differences between these examples they share a central property: they rest upon a narrative well known by their intended audiences, and the motion through this landscape establishes a parallel between the visitor’s experience and this narrative. A study of several examples, culled from the Villa d’Este, the Labyrinth at Versailles, and several *sacri monti* shows how motions through these gardens or landscapes led visitors to experience a transformation of their own selves and of their horizons of temporality. This suggests that landscape metaphors provide garden designers with the extraordinary power to introduce visitors to an ontological transformation of time. The presentation, at the end of the chapter, of a contemporary French vernacular garden takes the study one step further in a discussion of a designer’s poetical use of a landscape metaphor to procure a metamorphosis of time.

Thus the whole volume demonstrates many ways in which landscape design builds upon the experience of motion. This was found to be central to an understanding of changes in contemporary landscape aesthetics, moving away from the dominating influence of the picturesque. Different experiences resulted from a large variety of modes of exploration, some very common across Western cultures and others to a large extent cul-

ture specific. Quite interestingly, this opened a new chapter in the study of mimesis in the arts, since a garden or a landscape could be designed to allow a mode of exploration—such as walking—to represent another mode of exploration—such as sailing a Roman boat or riding a train; even sitting in perfect stillness could stand for exploring the mountains on foot. It also became apparent that landscape design may imbue the experience of motion with some deep meanings. Such meanings, however, turn out to be framed by the meta-physical, cultural, or ideological contexts within which designers have been working, and are only accessible to visitors for whom they are part of their lifeworld taken for granted. This observation challenges the intuitive idea that moving through a designed landscape gives rise to universal experiences that can be appreciated by present-day visitors in the same way that they were appreciated by its patrons and their guests.

This remark may serve as an introduction to the presentation of two general themes in Landscape Studies to which this volume as a whole brings some grist to grind. They are to a large extent unintended results of this symposium. This is to say that they were neither addressed directly by the authors in their presentations, nor hotly debated during discussions. Yet, on a slow and silent reading, they pop out of the pages when the reader shuttles from one text to the next. At the same time that the authors were addressing the topic of the conference, they were responding to other issues which they have currently in mind or which are part of ongoing cultural debates. There are times when certain questions emerge in a domain of research and are discussed parenthetically before the questions are clearly formulated and then can be addressed frontally. It struck me that there were several themes that seemed quite distinct from the immediate topic of this volume which had been touched upon in a creative way by most or all authors. The presentation of each of them calls for an order of discussion that does not follow the chapters in the volume, and in order to avoid too many repetitions I shall keep the complementary discussion to a minimum.

First, it came as a surprise that beyond the playfulness of dramatic experiences of gardens and landscapes, there appeared a much deeper role for gardens in self-development. This may be somewhat obfuscated from contemporary attention because in Garden Studies we tend to think of gardens that we visit as tourists rather than of those in which we live. But as soon as we turn our attention toward gardens that were designed to procure significant experiences for people who dwell in them, even if for limited periods of time, we can see how the experience of motion is bound by culture to the development of self. Second, we can observe that all of these results rest upon studies of the reception of gardens, a direction of research little explored in spite of repeated calls in favor of it by some scholars during recent years.³⁷ Since past experiences are not open for direct observation, each author had to devise some way to interpret—falling short of any attempt at complete reconstruction—the reception of a landscape when moving through it. In spite of indi-

³⁷ Since 1995 Hunt at several conferences and Robert Riley in “What History We Should Teach and Why,” in *Landscape Journal* 14, no. 2 (1995), have stressed the need for garden historians to consider not only the intentions of garden designers and patrons, but also the various forms of the reception of gardens. Since 1998 applicants for Landscape Architecture fellowships at Dumbarton Oaks are encouraged to engage in research on “reception and experience of gardens and other designed landscapes.”

vidual differences, three kinds of methods can be distinguished that focus respectively on individual intentionalities, staged interactions, and changes in aesthetics and the arts. Let us turn to a quick survey of contributions to each of these themes in this book.

Garden Motion and the Development of Self

It was unexpected to discover that garden experiences have contributed to the development of self in many different historical circumstances. The observation of a clear relationship between personal change or development and the experience of movement in gardens certainly came as a surprise, not as an anticipated topic of discussion. I propose to review this briefly, starting with the earliest study of this phenomenon in the volume and proceeding historically, while stressing that even though the sense of self and the idea of a garden seem at great variance from one period to another, they have been tightly bound at completely different historical times. This is certainly of interest for contemporary landscape architects, since many aim to promote a new awareness of, and a new ethic toward, nature as might befit a decentered self.

You may wonder by what stretch of the imagination garden experiences contribute to self-development. Kuttner makes a somewhat less bombastic, but also more precise, statement when she concludes her chapter with the idea that images and topographies restaged grave challenges that Roman aristocrats might have met in life, thus offering beautiful and safe garden scenery meant to help them achieve catharsis for any past or anticipated anxiety. She even describes how a visit to the gardens at Tivoli might have helped Hadrian work through his grief over the death of Antinous. Of course, this was a personal event and the gardens were also experienced by many other members of the Roman aristocracy. Kuttner demonstrates how water gardens at Sperlonga and Tivoli allowed visitors to engage in games of make-believe, casting themselves in the roles of mythical voyagers who had suffered great pains before contributing to the grandeur of their nation. These myths could serve as allegorical descriptions of the naval battles that issued from the civil war, or of more personal memories of dangers experienced during the voyages a high-ranking official had to accomplish as part of his civic duties in overseas provinces. To reach personal accomplishment, a Roman aristocrat had to identify with some of the founding heroes of Rome and its world. Thus self-development was achieved throughout the course of life and aimed to demonstrate civic virtues at the risk of many perils. Their replay in beautiful settings, in allegorical forms, free from personal danger, would help build up identification with the Roman state and civic heroes—that is, reaching an ideal sense of community and enjoying catharsis from past anxieties and memories of mourned companions. This sense of self-achievement is as foreign to us as the scenes enacted and the emotions pursued by imperial guests in these gardens. This should not surprise us, since we define our personality in different ways according to the cultural horizons within which we mature, and we also relate very differently to others and to nature. This is a source of difficulty and excitement for scholars engaged in Garden Studies, as soon as they choose to use an understanding of garden design as a key to historical research on human cultures.

Johnson's contribution on the experience of motion in two Zen Buddhist landscapes

takes us into an even more unusual mind-set. The gardens under discussion were designed and built by a Zen Buddhist monk around monasteries to support Buddhist monk trainees in their quest for enlightenment, and they were maintained and later rehabilitated with the same purpose. Enlightenment may be reached at any moment when one, having forgone desires and the belief in the reality of human selfhood, suddenly achieves the experience of “being fully present to existence itself.”³⁸ The Western sense of self as an entity we experience as real and ontologically different from our environment, be it natural or social, is completely alien to the sense of self that these monk trainees yearn for. This search for an egoless self is rooted in a religious tradition of exploring mountains for meditation in China, with which Musō and his followers were conversant. His monastery landscapes allowed the trainees to engage with their cultural world by emulating these explorations in landscapes with purposely strenuous paths climbing up and down a nearby mountain. In a way reminiscent of Kuttner’s analysis of landscapes of catharsis, Johnson shows how the Zen gardens with their ascending paths and their places for meditation in nature’s quietness allow the believers to live, in their own terms, through highly significant experiences of members of a community to which they aspire to belong. Motion through natural landscapes is part of the cultural interworld that fashions the trainees’ experiences, and thus the design of the gardens that allows the quest for enlightenment plays a significant role in the assumption of an egoless self. It is all the more obvious that the experience of motion is crucial to self-development rather than a necessary aspect of the Buddhist life—like, for instance, peregrination for begging orders—since once enlightenment has been achieved, we are told, the difference between motion and stillness becomes irrelevant. The gardens are meant to disenfranchise and allow a new self to emerge.

My own essay pursues the study of landscapes designed to support the achievement of some personal epiphany. Believers arrive at the pilgrimage site that is designed to represent a place of holy experience on *sacri monti* with a shared knowledge of the Crucifixion and Resurrection narratives and of their emotional and ontological significance. Also, they all engage in similar behaviors and go through some identification process with past figures and with one another. Monks at *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* go through a similar process, even though the narratives, ontological background, specific behaviors, and landscape forms are different. The similarity rests upon the process that links the experience of motion in a landscape and the quest, and sometimes achievement, of an epiphany. I have called this process a landscape metaphor because the landscape design allows visitors to experience a displacement of meanings attached to their personal life. It can only take place when the landscape design is steeped in a narrative interworld that has a firm hold on the imagination and concerns of the audience. On the other hand, all experiences of motion through a landscape do not give rise to such an ontological transformation or even to a transformation of self. We cannot account for the experience of motion by a mechanical response,

³⁸ See Johnson, “Mountain, Temple, and the Design of Movement: Thirteenth-Century Japanese Zen Buddhist Landscapes.”

either to material design features as Hunt vividly demonstrates, or to a cultural design figure such as the landscape metaphor. Cultural changes may alter the reception of gardens beyond recognition, and this makes even more intriguing the questions raised by continuities and changes in the appreciation of historic gardens.

Fung's study of the experience of motion in Ming gardens moves us closer to the present and again presents a different quest for self-development despite some obvious affinities with the process described by Johnson. In both cases the experience of the landscape is geared to the attainment of an egoless self beyond the trappings of human secular desires, and it rests upon meditation practices that play upon motion and stillness as correlated meanings rather than separated and opposed ones. Yet there are major differences, since the making of the landscape is part of the experience of motion both in the landscape and in the quest of the Way, and these two differ in Johnson's and Fung's accounts. In addition to the intertextuality brought about by studying ancient texts, naming of garden buildings and sites and writing about garden experiences leads Chinese literati toward a personal construction of the ideal of self with little reference—beyond the implicit reference to Confucius—to a common ideal character with which all wise men might identify. This distinguishes Chinese from Japanese experience and allows an idiosyncratic quest for an egoless self compatible with one's engagement in civic duties contributing to the administration of the empire. It should also be noted that the Japanese and Chinese design cultures do not simply differ in their design vocabularies, but more importantly in the difference in their attention to verticality.

Parshall accounts for Hirschfeld's explanations of garden reception. Hirschfeld shares some of the reverence for nature that was cultivated by Chinese literati, even though the metaphysical and practical contexts of Ming literati's and Hirschfeld's thinking are at total variance. Hirschfeld thought that unmediated experiences of motion through nature would insure men's moral improvement since they would be exposed to its immanent beauty and harmony. Moreover, he thought that landscape design should aim to choose scenes of nature to ensure that "a harmonious sequence of different emotions will result."³⁹ Garden guests, while recalling their motions through the garden, would then be able to reach from these feelings and their own power of imagination a moral ideal for themselves, and internalize it. This leads to the solipsistic view of self that Husserl wrestled with later in the "Cartesian Meditations," but it is not as mechanistic as one would think, since even though the string of feelings experienced through motion seems to result in deterministic fashion from being within natural scenes, the flow of associations results from personal memory and the construction of a moral ideal from personal imagination. Thus the experience of motion through a skillfully designed landscape should, according to Hirschfeld, create a possibility for moral redemption of all human visitors.

This grandiose view of the influence of landscape, allowing humans to develop a

³⁹ See Parshall, "Motion and Emotion in C.C.L. Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art*."

virtuous self by immersion in nature, was further elaborated and propagated by the Transcendentalist philosophers in the United States, putting the wilderness (nature untouched by human intentions) in place of the willful selection of natural scenes called forth by Hirschfeld. These ideas found some of their most fascinating expressions in Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis about the role of the frontier in the formation of the American citizen,⁴⁰ and in the hopes for social improvement by the development of varied public parks under federal direction during the Depression.⁴¹ Johanson takes this hope in a new direction, aiming for ethical revolution rather than moral improvement. The parks she designs aim to captivate visitors' visual curiosity for spectacular inventions, so as to attract them to unexpected encounters with nature. She does not say how they are affected by the cultural horizon of perception they bring to these encounters—even though she does not expect untutored children and trained ecologists to reach into the same imaginary representations of cyclical or catastrophic change—but she clearly expects the experience itself to awaken emotions and feelings that allow a decentering of self, a construction, enhanced by ritualized visits to the park, of a new ethical view of nature where human beings stand mutually bound with other living species rather than “as their master and owner,” to quote a celebrated simile by Descartes. Johanson's design strategy to this end is very personal, but the expectations it raises for landscape architecture are widely shared in the United States and other industrialized countries. It sets as high a goal for landscape architecture as Musō Kokushi did for his temple landscapes, while asking for less effort from its contemporary audience than he implied for Buddhist trainees. More research would be needed to understand the extent to which these self-transformations, following experiences of motion in gardens or designed landscapes, are effective.

The study of the experience of motion in gardens has led us so far to a discussion of its role in the development of self which rested upon highly different ways of conceiving the self according to the cultural world under study. We now move to a much more general discussion of methods for the study of garden reception, which in turn will call our attention to the role of garden experiences in mediating cultural changes. This may be seen as an interesting departure from historicist approaches to garden and landscape history which deserve attention in their own right. This results in the acknowledgment, common to other domains of reception studies, of the mutual embedding of landscape design and reception within a broader context of cultural change.

Toward a Methodology for the Study of Garden Experiences

Attention to garden experience has called for some methodological ingenuity in the study of garden reception which was motivated by the need to attend in particular to the

⁴⁰ Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Dover, 1996).

⁴¹ Gregory T. Cushman, “Environmental Therapy for Soil and Human Erosion: Landscape Architecture and Depression-Era Highway Construction in Texas,” in Michel Conan, ed., *Environmentalism in Landscape Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 45–70.

experience of motion, but raised broader questions about the understanding of all sorts of human experiences. Thus this volume provides a few tentative examples of studies of garden reception that could be used for experiences other than motion. This move toward studies of the aesthetic of reception follows in the wake of earlier attempts by Hans Robert Jauss⁴² (1970) and Wolfgang Iser (1979) to discover, in the words of Karl Kosik, that “each work of art has a double character within an indivisible unity: it is the expression of reality, but it also forms the reality that exists not next to the work, not before the work, but precisely only in the work.”⁴³ The discussion of reception theory, its methods, and its results has for the most part been confined to literary history, with a few notable exceptions in the visual arts.⁴⁴ Yet given the context of new developments in the social sciences, the methods proposed in this symposium resulted more from the specific questions addressed to garden history than from any deliberate effort to transfer methods from literary criticism to Landscape Studies. The difficulties prompted by the lack of well-articulated accounts of the experience of gardens by their owners and their guests, or even by casual visitors, demand an indirect approach of some sort. And, in order to circumscribe or reconstruct the phenomena to be studied, it is necessary to adopt, at least implicitly, some definition of the notion of experience. Three strikingly different approaches can be recognized. The first one locates the experience of the garden within a strictly individual response; it identifies the experience of a garden with a specific way of establishing a personal relation to a garden. The second describes the experience of a garden as a cultural construct resulting from staged interactions between a subject and some real or fictional others; in this sense the garden is seen as introducing an interworld. The third approach seeks to identify the new aesthetic response that is called for by an artistic innovation, thus specifying the experience of a garden as a contribution to cultural changes concerning aesthetic judgment. In brief, experience is conceived either in terms of intentionality or intersubjectivity, allowing a study of relationships between constructions of self and culture; or in terms of mediation between artistic innovation and cultural change, allowing for a study of the process of cultural change itself.

Landscape Experience as Shared Intentionality

Following closely in the footsteps of Hirschfeld, whose ideas she presents, Parshall traces the experience of motion in the garden to the garden guest's emotional response to

⁴² Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti, intro. Paul de Man (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁴ Michael Holly has conveniently summarized the main questions raised by reception theory: “Why do some stories of the past match their artifacts better than others? Why do figural patterns of meaning intrinsic to the work become extrinsic? What is the recipient's role in completing art as a performance? In what ways do the text's rhetorical conventions enunciate such a powerful convention of reading and writing? In short, what is the process that perpetually unsettles the apparently stable relationship between subject and object, perceiver and perceived, present and past?” See Holly, *Past Looking, Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 196.

an artfully presented nature. Hirschfeld stresses the individual nature of this response. It surges as an immediate reaction to the flow of perceptions from the flickering changes of a stretch of nature, carefully selected for its power to evoke a mood. The guest is invited to fall under its spell, but the emotions to be experienced are further defined by the associations that he may bring to its unfolding. Thus the experience unfolds from the world of emotions as a result of the dialogue among an intentional work of landscape art bringing to a rare intensity the affective content of nature, changing aspects of nature that reflect its own life, and personal memories of emotions associated with similar events in the guest's life. This makes each experience of a garden so highly personal that one may wonder how two visitors could share the same experience or even come to know each other's experience.

This puzzle is less apparent in Hunt's analysis of the experience of walking, since he takes as his departure three fairly broad types of behavior, each of which could be collective as well as individual. In fact, this latter distinction does not apply to the analysis at all because it does not aim to capture the richness of the experience in its complexity as Parshall's explanation proposes, but rather to isolate a specific feature of personal responses to garden and landscape architecture across centuries and continents. The strength of this analysis arises from its concentration on a single aspect of human experience, making no claim for its relative importance except that it can be deliberately acted upon by landscape architects, thus revealing that if painting expresses a lordship of the eye, daily experience a lordship of the hand, landscape architecture can afford a lordship of the feet: it can direct a garden guest's will to discover. Of course, this will is personal and it is experienced as an individual response to a designed landscape. The analysis does not stop at this point, however, since it points to the possible mediation of cultural artifacts, such as signage, guidebooks, or outright commands that may contradict and override the intended will to explore inscribed into the landscape by its designer. Thus the genuinely personal experience can be altered by some institutional power to which the visitor is subjected within this landscape. But even though the experience of motion through a landscape is shown to depend not only on a designer's intention but also on institutional demands, it remains an individual response to the outside world. This shared aspect of experience may impose a similar type of behavior on a large number of people. Yet it leaves other aspects of the experience of motion, such as emotions or meanings attached to events encountered during exploration of the landscape, completely open.

This limited claim of the role of landscape architecture is heartily embraced by Johanson, who predicates her own attention to the experience of motion when designing upon a way of thinking that comes close to Hunt's analysis. She aims in her designs to lead guests who explore her landscapes from a processionlike entry into the landscape to a pure ramble in total oblivion of any place to be walked to, opening them to a highly personal experience of nature wherever they are on the site. Thus she fully endorses the limited role assigned to landscape architecture in directing the experience of motion through a designed landscape. This proximity between the transhistorical proposition of Hunt and a designer's account of a highly idiosyncratic design attitude must be noted, since it suggests the possibility for landscape architects to compose in many creative ways with the three

modes—walk, stroll, ramble—that Hunt proposes. It must also be noted that the end result, and the major effect, of Johanson’s design tends toward a very complex and personal experience of nature, in which the emotional experience of a sense of immersion in nature is derived from the different memories of past attention to nature that each individual brings to his meditation.

We are very far, however, from Hirschfeld’s interpretation of landscape experience, since in Johnson’s projects emotion arises in stillness when the alienating experience of movement has been overcome, and yet we can see that for both authors the emotional response to place and memory accounts for the variety of individual experiences. And of course in similar fashion their lines of explanation raise the questions: can these experiences be shared? By whom, and under which conditions? One may scoff at these questions. Is it not possible for any visitor to a landscape by Johanson to see how different people behave and to derive from the fact that he walked, roamed the paths, slowed down and squatted, or sat down gazing at the same places as others, that he is sharing the same experiences?

This answer to the question about intersubjective communication, which is raised by any account of a reduction of perception to individual experience, falls unfortunately short. It suggests that each person can think of all others along the pattern of his own experience; it fails to establish that these patterns are not all different. It seems very odd, however, to think that we may have such difficulties in accounting for the possibility of sharing our experiences of a landscape, since so many famous gardens or landscapes are visited by large crowds in search of a specific experience of being there. Could such a sense of sharing an experience with others always be an illusion, or should we look for another way of accounting for garden reception?

Landscape Experience as Participation in an Interworld

Kuttner follows a suggestive approach. She does not attempt to reconstruct a single model or even a limited number of typical models that would account for the experience of moving in an imperial water garden in Roman times, but rather proposes an infinite range of possible responses that can be characterized by the internal contradictions of Roman culture from which they arise and the cultural function of catharsis that they satisfy. Experience is certainly achieved by individuals, but it arises from the embodiment of a cultural narrative by the particular person who is subjected to the experience. The two water gardens Kuttner studies introduce their guests to the possibilities of engaging with three different domains of culture that predated their own birth—the sense and experience of nature in Roman culture, experiences of water in Roman literature and the arts, and the role of water in public and private expressions of imperial propaganda—and which have contributed, along with the Latin language, religion, and their sense of duty and privilege in a stratified society, to the formation of their sense of self. So each of these cultural interworlds precedes the existence of individuals and gives rise to the individual’s capacities to engage with others, to make sense of their life, and to contribute to the life of culture itself. Thus the gardens invite their guests to take the initiative of some movements and

behaviors they experience as sources of sensation, meaning, and emotions according to cultural codes pertaining to the interworlds rendered present by the garden design and its decor. In this perspective, experiences can be shared within the same limits as meaning of sentences. Because acts and mental content derive from interworlds, they give rise to the same activity of interpretation for different people, and thus give a sense of shared experience. Yet because they play upon different hermeneutics at the same time, each of which have some level of ambiguity, and because individual intentions cannot be ascertained from the observation of behavior, they remain a source of individual differences and misunderstandings. So the analysis cannot reach a reconstruction of individual experiences and must be satisfied with an understanding of a culturally specific domain of experience.

Johnson also insists on the origins of the experience of moving through the Zen monastery landscapes within an interworld, the Zen culture of the quest for enlightenment, and on the inescapable variety of individual experiences. This variety, however, is not within reach of untutored efforts, and the garden through its design embodies several aspects of this interworld—it belongs to its respective material culture—and supports the quest for a better approach to the quest for an egoless self. Even though this is not stressed very much in Johnson's chapter, it should be noted that in several instances the guest or trainee is invited by the garden features and the tradition of interpretation to engage in the pursuit of an imaginary dialogue with Musō, the garden founder, and beyond, with the ancient wise men Musō himself addressed in his meditation. Thus the individual experience of nature rests upon the meditation of an imaginary dialogue with others; it is cut from the cloth of intersubjective experiences.

Charlesworth proceeds from a similar perspective when he chooses to explore how the garden design at Stourhead availed itself of the intersubjectivity built up within structures of interlocation. This approach to the garden experience of motion seizes experience at the confluence of the cultural intentionality acted upon by the designer, the course of action engaged in by the garden guest, and the interworlds at his command from which he borrows a capacity to make sense of it. Thus the garden reception can be seen either as a pedagogical phenomenon through which some historical cultural attitudes are transmitted from garden designer to guest, as a moment of self-development when the garden guest is led into self-reflection about his course through the garden, or as a process of cultural change forcing new interpretations of a cultural tradition to be shared. This brings the discussion of the experience of motion in gardens very close to the perspectives opened for literary studies by Jauss in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic*, 21. In the commentary to his thesis 1, Jauss writes: "A literary work is not a work that stands by itself and that offers the same view to each reader. It is not a monument that monologically reveals its timeless essence. It is much more like an orchestration that strikes ever new resonances among its readers and that frees the text from the material of the words and brings it to a contemporary existence: '[W]ords that must, at the same time that they speak to him, create an interlocutor capable of understanding them,'" in Gaétan Picon, *Introduction à une esthétique de la littérature* (Paris: Gallimard, 1953).

My own contribution falls along the same lines of interpretation, seeing experience as a mental state that plays upon widely shared cultural contexts to frame a reflection upon a string of bodily encounters with nature. It suggests a further differentiation among garden experiences that give rise to reflection upon some widely shared cultural narrative, thus inviting even more fine-grained differences in the dynamics of garden experience. It makes a difference whether one enters the visit with a clear understanding of the narrative that unfolds in the landscape or whether it is to be discovered in the visit or in retrospect when puzzling upon some conundrum set by the visit. These differences may be of great interest for landscape designers because they invite creative interplay between narrative and landscape forms. The study of a few examples shows, moreover, that landscape design can suggest an experience of living simultaneously in the present and in another time frame. It was very well known that landscape architecture could transform a visitor's experience of space (one may think of the writings of F. Hamilton Hazlehurst on André Le Nôtre,⁴⁶ for instance); this shows that it can also transform the experience of time by making inescapable a mutual relationship between the designed landscape and a fictional place from the visitor's cultural heritage. It again stresses the intersubjective content at the source of the individual experiences, and yet the individual response remains unpredictable in its full content.

Landscape Experience as Aesthetic Response to an Artistic Innovation

Thus we may come to see landscape designs as predisposing their "audiences to a very specific kind of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics or implicit allusions,"⁴⁷ to borrow the words of Wolfgang Iser and displace them from literary theory to landscaping. In this perspective the experience derived from a work of art contributes to the creation of a new interworld. The experience of a work of art belongs then to a social process of cultural production which cannot be studied by addressing only the reception of a work of art, but demands an understanding of the relationships between its production and its reception. Three chapters of this book demonstrate different reasons for exploring this understanding of experience of motion in gardens as part of a broader structure of landscape creation. Strikingly enough, each of them introduces and discusses another domain of artistic creation in addition to landscape architecture.

Fung seeks to disentangle the study of Chinese garden history from the aporia introduced by assuming that there is no difference between a Western and a Chinese experience of a garden. He shows how literary accounts of gardens designed by literati during the Ming period stress the role of the garden in the pursuit of a neo-Confucian ideal of immersion of the self in the flow of Nature's changes. The pursuit of scholarly life in the garden, the design of the garden, and the writings which represent both of them to a larger

⁴⁶ Hazlehurst, *Gardens of Illusion: The Genius of André Le Nôtre* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1980).

⁴⁷ Iser, "The Current Situation of Literary Theory: Key Concepts and the Imaginary," *New Literary History* 2 (1979): 19.

audience all contribute to the dissemination of this neo-Confucian interworld. But the literary work should not be seen only as a way of disseminating the garden experience, since this would leave the intersubjective origin of this experience undefined. It feeds into an intertextual Chinese literary tradition that binds together poems, philosophical texts, chronicles, and essays and which is itself the source upon which literati may base their attempts at distancing themselves from another interworld, the desires, passions, and ambitions of political life, in which Confucian ideals are paid lip service.

Freytag wants to highlight the role of urban parks in a cultural development that arose from a shift in the significance of time, space, and speed with the advent of the Industrial Revolution. The two urban parks in Paris and Vienna that she presents in greatest detail are shown to contribute, together with Impressionist paintings, to the development of the cultural interworld of modernity ushered in by the introduction of the railway, a technological device that offered a completely new possibility for fast transportation to urban dwellers, and thus triggered the invention of a new city culture, distancing in a new way rural and urban culture, which enabled urban dwellers to colonize parts of the rural world. A new kind of leisurely practice, the journey to the seaside from Paris and the journey to the mountains, which were both made possible by the construction of railways, procured a number of new experiences of travel, walk, landscape appreciation, and leisure that were made available to larger crowds by these urban parks. Freytag shows that the experience of motion in the landscape park aims only to reproduce different experiences during a day trip by train away from the city.

Bann wants to explain a different dynamic of aesthetic innovation. While the generalization of rail transport has made the experience of a day in the countryside by train so banal as to be taken for granted, the works by Lassus that Bann analyzes aim to introduce a new aesthetic predicated upon the creation of landscape design proposed to pursue leisure practices within a new horizon of perception. Each of the landscapes presented by Lassus offers a genuinely new experience that allows cultural practices that were kept separate (driving the motorway, discovering the rural world it crosses, picnicking in a safe and quiet place, for instance) to be enjoyed as a whole through a succession of experiences of the same landscape. Several aspects of the experience depend upon the commonly shared practical culture of visitors, but the landscape design within rests upon aesthetic choices that break away from the tenets of the dominant visual culture of landscape. Bann insists, by introducing a study of a pre-Claudian landscape painter and of a pedagogical text by Lassus on a tour in the gorges of a torrent, upon the role of landscape architecture in a contemporary renewal of aesthetic attitudes toward nature, showing how experiences of motion can be both familiar and radically new.

To conclude this methodological survey of the contributions to this book, we can distinguish three different methods for the study of the reception of gardens according to the approach it offers to landscape experiences. The first method privileges one aspect of the relationship that develops between an individual visitor and the landscape. The second seeks to establish the conditions and the forms of visitors' participation in the cultural interworlds that contribute to the formation of the variety of possible experiences of a

landscape. The third seeks to replace the landscape experience within a study of the dynamics of a cultural interworld, by highlighting the role of reception in the dissemination of new aesthetics and the role of artistic creation in their invention.

Conclusions: Garden Studies in a Multicultural World

We have moved a long way from the chilling impression that studies of the experience of motion in a garden were so poorly documented that they would lead to outright inconsequential discussions or would be impossible to conduct. We have discovered instead that garden scholars approached the experience of motion in innovative ways. They have demonstrated that this was an important aspect of contemporary changes in landscape aesthetics and have forced a critical examination of the worn-out picturesque aesthetic. They have offered different accounts of the experience of motion in specific landscapes that show their grounding in specific cultural contexts and their contribution to studies of the dynamics of cultural change. They have also shown how deliberate forms of garden or landscape design have allowed people, albeit in culturally very different ways, to achieve or seek experiences significant for their own self-development. Instead of borrowing cognitivist, behaviorist, or phenomenologist methods, they have invented an array of methods for reception studies. In conclusion, we may try to clarify their departure from phenomenology, and show why Garden Studies might contribute significantly to cross-cultural studies.

The notion of experience is both vague and familiar. When we casually say, “I experience a vague uneasiness in front of this or that particular question,” we simply mean that the “vague uneasiness” to which we refer is a mental content we entertain as individuals confronted by an external object, the question. In this sense, experience is a mental thing we entertain about the outside world, as individuals. This is one among many possible mental states that we may entertain about the world. We experience, for instance, perception, belief, fear, emotions, will, taste—that is, the whole range of mental states John Searle calls intentionalities.⁴⁸ Several authors in this book have concentrated their attention for the visitor’s response to gardens on some aspect of intentionality, thus providing conceptual analysis that confirms the commonly held intention that experience belongs to the inner workings of individual minds. This leads, however, to a well-known problem with which phenomenologists have wrestled since Husserl raised it: if we know the world through an immediate experience that is strictly personal, how can we know the other? If our experience is the result of an individual presence in the world, as Husserl proposes, this assumption begs two questions: can we know other humans’ intentionalities, and how do we share our own experience with them?

Of course we can experience other humans as objects, but this would lead us to ignore them as subjects in their own right. Hence we should ask: How do men achieve a common culture about the world they live in? This is known as the question of

⁴⁸ John R. Searle, *Intentionality: An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

intersubjectivity.⁴⁹ Husserl proposes that since we recognize others as looking like us and behaving like us, we perceive them as human subjects like us. This argument falls short of its goal, since we would only know others as we imagine ourselves, not as others embodying another subjectivity different from our own. Several phenomenologists have proposed a different solution to the dilemma posed by Husserl's answer to the question of intersubjectivity. Merleau-Ponty's study of perception has led him to a premise that perception is not an experience of objects but rather an opening to the world, a way for the embodied person to enter into a communion with the world. Thus there is no dilemma of intersubjectivity, since perception is the process shared with all others through which humans engage worldly matter through their bodies.⁵⁰ This could offer an opening for further studies on gardens by inviting a careful attention to the multiple aspects of bodily engagement of people in a garden or a landscape.

It leaves out any explanation of different perceptions of the same landscape, and of the production of a new vision of landscape, such as the one that was introduced by the English garden, or more recently by landscape environmentalism. Merleau-Ponty intended to show "how communication with others, and thought, take up and go beyond the realm of perception which initiated us to truth,"⁵¹ but he died prematurely. Other phenomenologists have engaged in a more differentiated approach of social and cultural life, but have not addressed perception as well as he did.⁵² A very different solution to the problem of intersubjectivity has been proposed by American sociologists who formed the interactionist school, inspired by works of John Dewey (1859–1952) and George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) in particular: they took the self to arise from social experience.⁵³ It is quite fascinating to observe that this is the horizon of research that most authors in this book have adopted without any explicit reference to this school of thought. So their studies imply, to a large extent, a criticism of the universality of the prereflexive mind that is postulated by phenomenology because they set side by side studies of the same question in different cultural contexts. One could say that they demonstrate that phenomenology was not reaching "for

⁴⁹ Nick Crossley, *Intersubjectivity: The Fabric of Social Becoming* (London: Sage, 1996).

⁵⁰ "The unprejudiced study of perception by psychologists has finally revealed that the perceived world is not a sum of objects (in the sense in which the sciences use this word), that our relation to the world is not that of a thinker to an object of thought, and finally that the unity of the perceived thing, as perceived by several consciousnesses, is not comparable to the unity of a proposition, as understood by several thinkers, any more than perceived existence is comparable to ideal existence." Merleau-Ponty, *The Primacy of Perception and Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History, and Politics*, ed. with an intro. by James M. Edie (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 12. This volume contains an interesting development of his ideas for the study of the philosophy of art and the humanities.

⁵¹ "An Unpublished Text by Maurice Merleau-Ponty: A Prospectus of His Work," trans. Arleen B. Dallery, in Merleau-Ponty, *The Primacy of Perception*, 3.

⁵² Crossley, *Intersubjectivity*, chap. 4, "Concrete Intersubjectivity and the Lifeworld: On Alfred Schutz," 73–98.

⁵³ Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Perigee Books, 1980 [1934]); Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). See also Randall Collins, *Four Sociological Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 257.

the things themselves,” as phenomenologists like to say, but rather for a cultural world that underlines the development of cultural systems of signs and communication. It seems to indicate that studies of garden experience offer a very interesting domain for research on intersubjectivity. Thus cross-cultural studies of garden appreciation and design might lead to an understanding of some fundamental cultural differences and of the cultural constructs that result from their encounters.

Reading this book along these lines, we have seen that many gardening or landscape gardening traditions have been predicated upon the power of landscape experience to contribute to development of this self, however differently the self was understood in each culture. This raises important questions about the contribution of garden design to garden experience and beyond, to changes in mentalities, morals, or ethics according to the definition of the self at issue. Of course we are born in a language and a culture that demands that we achieve some sense of self, of moral responsibility, of individual autonomy. And we find it very difficult to reflect upon the cultural processes through which we differentiate from a cultural womb and remain attached to it by the most fundamental aspects of interworlds that we take for granted and upon which we build our sense of self and reality such as our ideas of time, space, rest, movement, self, and nature.

This volume also suggests that cross-cultural comparisons of the experience of gardens may offer insights into the contribution of gardens to the grounding of subjective experiences in culturally defined interworlds. This may sound obscure because it suggests a new direction for attention to Garden Studies that is unfamiliar. We are all used to thinking that time and space are constitutive of all our experiences and yet cannot be experienced directly. So we are willing to accept Kant's view that these are a priori categories of thought that are given to all people in every culture. This is an idea that is challenged by several authors in this volume on empirical grounds. They show that time, space, movement, and stillness have been conceived from incommensurate points of view in different cultures from Roman imperial times to the present, and that they are also amenable to change under the influence of technological change and artistic innovation. Thus categories of time, space, motion, self, and nature have to be studied from the relevant cultural perspective, taking into account the intertextuality at work in the reappropriation of other cultures within any historical one. It helps us remember that assuming the existence of a neutral, objective, or universal point of view exposes cross-cultural studies of gardens to drastic misunderstandings and even to charges of cultural imperialism.

Motion and Emotion in C.C.L. Hirschfeld's Theory of Garden Art

Linda Parshall

Movement, the very soul of nature.
— Theory of Garden Art (143)

In the second volume of C.C.L. Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art*, there is a highly cinematic moment when a wanderer's eye sweeps across a landscape vista and, lifting above the forest, spies the top of a distant hillside where a field is being worked. It is an astonishing image: a reaper appears to be mowing the forest's canopy with his scythe (2:141). This is, of course, not a surreal event but an error of interpretation resulting from an accidental and interdependent relationship between viewer and object, in this case between a garden visitor and the sight of a distant horizon perceived beyond the garden proper. For me, Hirschfeld's magical vision recalls a captivating image in Werner Herzog's *Fitzcaraldo* where a huge boat is observed floating slowly uphill across the treetops of a tropical forest.

Although the action in *Fitzcaraldo* is carefully choreographed, the image Hirschfeld describes is coincidental: it is not part of a landscape designer's intention, nor is it sought out by the visitor. For Hirschfeld, however, that such a conjunction is both unplanned and unanticipated makes it no less charming. Indeed, the unexpectedness adds to its appeal. And both of these visions bear on this discussion because they are intimately tied to two of the most basic and multifarious aspects of a garden: the beholder's perception and the role of movement—in one case a camera lens, in the other a visitor moving through the landscape

References to *Theory of Garden Art* are of two types. If the passage is included in my published translation, a page number is given (as in the opening epigraph), referring to C.C.L. Hirschfeld, *Theory of Garden Art*, ed. and trans. Linda B. Parshall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). If the passage is not included in my translation, a vol. no. and page no. are given, as in the first citation above (2:141), referring to the original German ed., *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1779–1785); repr. in reduced facsimile, 5 vols. in 2, with intro. by Hans Foramitti (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Olms, 1973 and 1985). A French ed. (trans. Friedrich de Castillon) appeared almost simultaneously with the original German: *Théorie de l'art des jardins. Traduit de l'allemand*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1779–85); repr. in reduced facsimile, 5 vols. in 3 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1973).

and scanning the horizon.¹ Indeed, there is movement involved in the physiology of vision itself, for scientific studies have demonstrated that, in the process of looking, the eye is far from at rest but instead “probes and gropes for meaning,” whether scanning a text or a picture, or making sense out of a series of moving images.² Meanwhile we mentally process visual signals in the temporal space that allow us to register their meaning. What is technically known as “temporal integration,” the bundling together of memories and expectations in one stretch of time,³ makes it possible to interpret what lies before us. It is the *experience* of the landscape that causes the boat and the mower to appear and then disappear, an experience created not only by movement but by the exigencies of human perception as well. The scene as such exists in the beholder’s imagination.

Hirschfeld appreciates the visual “painting” of such vistas, their gradual appearance and the process by which we fully “see” them, and he often compares natural scenes with landscape paintings, as did so many of his contemporaries. Yet, he finds gardens superior to paintings because of their potentially greater *effect*, an effect heightened by the varied elements of motion. Here the viewer’s active role in apprehending and interpreting a garden must differ from responding to a static work of art. For Hirschfeld, movement in all of its manifestations is fundamental to the creation of a garden’s meaning; its composition of scenic elements, its three-dimensionality, in sum the experience of the garden altogether.

Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld lived from 1742 to 1792. Author of many books, he was the most recognized and influential authority on the art of gardening in continental Europe well into the early nineteenth century. He achieved his greatest fame with his five-volume *Theory of Garden Art*, published between 1779 and 1785. These handsome books, 1,300 pages in all including nearly 250 illustrations, are at once erudite and entertaining. They provided a compendium of theory and reference, description and philosophy, prose and poetry, a source of inspiration for more than a generation of readers, not just in Germany but throughout the Continent, where he was repeatedly quoted and also plagiarized.

Hirschfeld himself was not a practicing gardener but a theoretician, and questions of meaning and interpretation, of stimulus and response to nature, lay at the heart of his concerns. As a student of theology and philosophy at Halle under A. G. Baumgarten, he was steeped in the enlightened tradition of Christian Wolff, anticipating the more progressive position soon to be formulated by Karl Philipp Moritz, among others. Moritz’s study of 1788, *Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen* (On the pictorial imitation of the beautiful), marks a turning point in eighteenth-century aesthetic theories in that he conceives of

¹ They are also bound up with the issue of perception. I am reminded of Hogarth’s amusing satire on *False Perspective* (1754), where our eyes trick us into accepting as reasonable a gargantuan figure lighting his pipe on a distant hill, just one of a myriad of figures and structures that are totally out of scale. See E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, 4th ed. (London: Phaidon, 1972) 205 ff., fig. 209. Hirschfeld is not trying to deceive us, but he does enjoy the play on the perspective system.

² E. H. Gombrich, *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982), 50.

³ Gombrich, *The Image*, 47. See also his discussion of Augustine’s thoughts on time and memory, insights that Gombrich claims both Shaftesbury and Lessing would have profited from (46 ff.).

imitation as an internal process of creation rather than a mirroring of external realities. I am not claiming that Hirschfeld formulated anything so innovative but that his theory reflects a trend within German thought that was leading in the direction Moritz would set. The idea of the “natural” garden attracted Hirschfeld as it did so many thinkers of his time because it seemed to embody these new attitudes toward nature and perception. In short, the natural garden was an art form capable of absorbing and expressing the philosophical, political, and social tendencies of the age.

Questions of aesthetics were deeply engaging eighteenth-century thinkers concerned not only with defining beauty but analyzing its effects. The physico-theology of the period recognized a preestablished harmony in nature as well as a human ability to apprehend its divine origin and in turn be morally improved. Thus inanimate nature became a focus of attention for the arts, both as a source and model of beauty and goodness and as a concept that included not just the external world but the subjective realm of the spirit.⁴ Nature's aesthetic power was seen as the ultimate paradigm for imitation in literature and the fine arts; the landscape was imbued with new meaning.⁵ Hence, the principle of imitation preoccupied contemporary debates about the new art of gardening as well. At issue was how to define the mimetic relationship between the unaffected landscape of nature and the self-conscious composition of a designed garden or park.⁶

The aesthetic debates over gardens in the eighteenth century inevitably depended on the advanced theoretical discussions of the sister arts and on the classically rooted principle of mimesis.⁷ A radically new perspective had been offered by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's seminal tract *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*.⁸ By contrasting the visual arts as occurring in space (their true subject being objects) with the poetic arts occurring in time (their true subject being actions), Lessing ushered in modern aesthetic theory. Al-

⁴ Arthur Lovejoy was able to distinguish more than 60 different meanings for *nature* in English. See John D. Boyd, *The Function of Mimesis and Its Decline* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1968), esp. “The Changing Concept of ‘Nature,’” 74 ff.

⁵ See Johann Georg Sulzer, “Landschaft,” in *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1771–74), 114–21. On 18th-century debates over mimesis and imagination in Germany, see David Morgan, “The Rise and Fall of Abstraction in Eighteenth-Century Art Theory,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27 (1994): 449–78.

⁶ As John Dixon Hunt, with a turn on Foucault, terms it, it is an art form that is “both a thing represented and a thing representing.” See Hunt, “Imitation, Representation, and the Study of Garden Art,” in Susan C. Scott, ed., *The Art of Interpreting* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 200.

⁷ The seminal study is Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis; dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (Bern [1946]); trans. Willard R. Trask, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953). For a broader approach and a survey of the historical background of the topic, see Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, *Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). For a discussion of this period's misinterpretation of classical mimesis, see Boyd, *The Function of Mimesis*, esp. 109–29.

⁸ Lessing, *Laokoon, oder: Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*, vol. 5.2 of Lessing, *Werk und Briefe, 1766–1769*, ed. Wilfried Barner (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), pt. 1, chap. 17; English trans. Edward Allen McCormick (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962). On Lessing's innovativeness, see Gebauer and Wulf, *Mimesis*, 186.

though Lessing does not discuss gardens, or examine the role of motion as such, his opposition of objects to actions and space to time had profound implications for eighteenth-century understanding of the new art of garden design. In this regard Lessing's concern with response, that is to say with the experiential effect of an object or action, is likewise fundamentally relevant to Hirschfeld's analysis of gardens, as is Lessing's attention to the role of the respondent in this relationship. A move into the three-dimensional, necessarily interactive world of the garden was bound to require new perspectives.

Hirschfeld knew Lessing personally, yet he neither cites him nor offers evidence in the *Theory* of having read his work. Nevertheless, given Lessing's prominence, it is difficult to imagine a philosopher of Hirschfeld's generation being entirely innocent of his most important writings. The notion of imitation is central to Hirschfeld's evaluation of the garden as an aesthetic experience in the realm of art, especially garden art, where both the matter and appearance of nature are reproduced, as well as in the educational and moral effects of that imitation on the visitor. Indeed, Hirschfeld's analysis of the interaction between the natural scene and the senses seems poised to overcome what Sir Ernst Gombrich has termed Lessing's "fatal dichotomy between space and time in art which has tangled the discussion ever since."⁹

Some of Hirschfeld's critics—and he had several—judged his approach to be too analytical, too scientific. Yet, given the Enlightenment penchant for philosophical analysis, it is hardly surprising that he, along with many other writers, not only speculated on how the elements of the natural world affect us but went on to systematize the aesthetic and psychological processes involved. The theory known as associationism, for example, held that certain experiences evoke specific corresponding emotions, which in turn elicit effects that are at once sensuous and of ethical and didactic significance.¹⁰ Hirschfeld propounded associationist theory, and he enriched it with particular speculations of his own on the importance of movement in gardens. Like the associationists, he gave special weight to the active role of the subject who engages in a creative process involving stimulus, memory, and imagination, and he considered how a garden might be designed to intensify that engagement. The interiority of the subject, the character and function of mental images, indeed, the imagination itself, were interpreted through imitation of, and the human response to, nature.

The eighteenth century came to analyze aesthetic response by looking at the artistic object as both the result and the embodiment of a creative process and by recognizing how that process is recreated in the mind of the beholder. This is especially complex in the realm of garden art where the product (the garden) and the medium (the natural world) are in fundamental ways indistinguishable. Furthermore, the thing represented is meant to be

⁹ Gombrich, *The Image*, 46.

¹⁰ See Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 15–17 and 39. He discusses the moral power of the arts in *Von der moralischen Einwirkung der bildenden Künste* (Leipzig, 1775). Home and Whately were his major English sources for associationist theory. See Wolfgang Schepers, *Hirschfelds Theorie der Gartenkunst, 1779–1785* (Worms: Werner'sche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980), especially the excursus on associationism, 129–35.

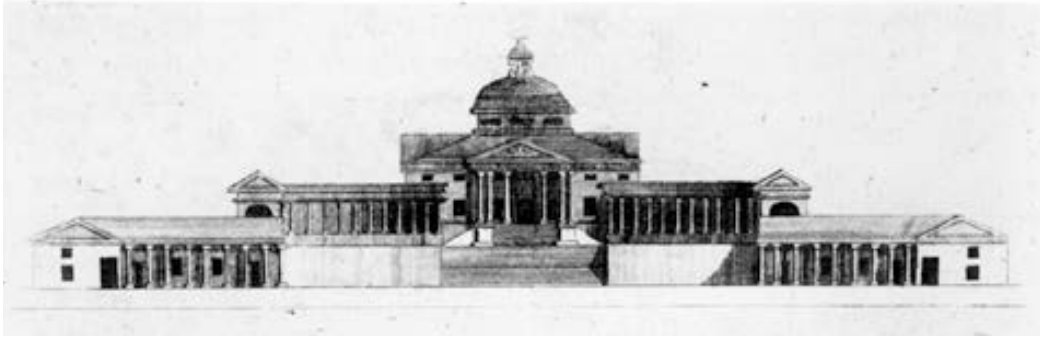
admired both passively and actively, both visually and experientially. In short, the beholder is a controlling participant in the production and reproduction of meaning. Hirschfeld's attention to the effect of a landscape drew him into contemporary aesthetic theory, as did his analyses of imitation. Yet as he defines the garden's representational function—not only in relation to nature but to the other arts as well—Hirschfeld expands on the issues of imitation and experience. Among the key concepts that emerge are the roles of motion and emotion.

I propose to plumb the *Theory* on the subject of motion and emotion and their mimetic function: how they are perceived and experienced, and how they are deemed to affect the viewer aesthetically and morally. What emerges is a conception of garden art as a richly sensual and subjective arena of experience. It is not surprising that Hirschfeld set out to validate the status of garden design, yet his case for enthroning it above the other arts is exceptional and elaborate. Of special interest here is the fact that his sustained defense of the art of gardening rests significantly on a celebration of the ways in which the imitative power of motion sets the garden apart from other arts. In fact, Hirschfeld highlights motion along with color as one of the two basic constituents of beauty.

The garden type that Hirschfeld champions is the relatively new English garden, and he enlists an impressive array of authorities in support of it. Many of them he quotes at length, arguing for the superiority of the landscape garden over what he dismisses as the “old style,” “regular,” or “formal” garden with its stilted, unengaging, unnatural hierarchies and symmetries. Hirschfeld's high regard for the contribution of movement surfaces in his condemnation of formal layouts as architectural and tedious rather than natural and exciting. They are disagreeable in themselves and contradictory to the idea of a true garden, for they lack the kinds of motion he deems essential to the experience of nature. In his opinion, even proceeding through a formal garden sparks no emotive response; the visitor is only driven to depart and search out the irregular diversity of untouched nature.¹¹

In keeping with this rejection of stasis *in* gardens, Hirschfeld also rejects pictorial representations of gardens, although he is an enthusiast when it comes to paintings of landscape. He is especially critical of the many publications that squander their illustrations on symmetrical gardens, bird's-eye views, and ground plans. Since a garden is properly experienced in space and time—an ever-changing series of scenes and effects—it cannot be captured in two dimensions. Hence garden illustrations, he argues, should be elusive and allusive, suggestive and pointing beyond themselves. Accordingly, the majority of the illustrations for *Theory* are not of gardens at all, but architectural studies (Fig. 1). The “scenes” included, many fewer in number, are depictions not of real but imagined places, often scarcely

¹¹ See Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 159 f. Also: “Another adverse effect of symmetry is the uniformity and tedium that are inseparable from it and are in direct opposition to a garden's character. All things, both natural and artificial, look so alike; no variety, no agreeable intrusion; everything can be surveyed at once, understood at once. The impressions quickly tire for us and lose all their power; we want to be occupied, and we find nothing to touch us further. We wrest ourselves from boredom by strolling beyond the narrowly confined area of the garden and out into the open fields, where nature may once again delight us with her particular diversity and charm” (134).



1. *Architectural study, an Italian villa by Palladio.* *Theorie der Gartenkunst* II, 95

distinguishable from untouched nature, and sometimes veering toward fantasy landscapes filled with movement, for example, a volcanic eruption or a dramatic cascade (Fig. 2). Like gardens themselves, these illustrations are meant to establish a mood, to convey a notion of involvement that distinguishes garden art from all others.¹² Hirschfeld prefers images that suggest what it means to experience a garden, images that elicit a sense of the effect of a visitor's interaction with the space itself. Sometimes we see people moving through or set within a landscape—perhaps navigating a waterway on a skiff or reposing on a carefully sited chair and gazing at a distant vista or reading a book (Fig. 3). Even these scenes he judges inferior to the real thing, and he rarely refers to the illustrations in his own works. It was the beauty of the natural landscape that first drew Hirschfeld to contemplate man's relationship to nature, a process that led him from discussions of simple country living in the Swiss Alps to the goal of capturing the “genius of the place” in German gardens. His theory of gardens is ultimately a theory of direct encounter with the natural landscape.

Throughout, Hirschfeld pursues the theme of motion and emotion from a variety of perspectives. His categories range widely from the actual movement of elements within a garden, such as the play of light on water or a cow wading through tall grass, to the transitory, gradual motion of changing seasons and times of day. There is an implied movement that can be achieved in the flow of a garden layout. The illusion of movement is in the sculpture of a figure in action, and finally there is the movement of a visitor's body, and the eye within it, through a garden. He suggests that motion is perceived through the senses of smell, hearing, and touch, and he maintains that the garden artist can actualize or heighten all these sensual, visible, and virtual movements, thereby significantly heightening the garden's

¹² Esp. 172–73, where Hirschfeld analyzes the differences among the visual arts, poetry, and gardens, often sounding quite similar to Lessing's *Laocoön* essay. On garden *ekphrasis*, see also John Dixon Hunt, *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 199. Hirschfeld's attitude recalls Whately, one of his primary models, whose book is proudly “illustrated by descriptions” only. *Observations on Modern Gardening: Illustrated by Descriptions* (London, 1770); facsimile ed. by Hunt (New York: Garland, 1982).



2. *A scene by Johann Heinrich Brandt. Theorie I, 221*



3. *A scene by Johann Heinrich Brandt. Theorie I, 230*

affective power. “Through all these gateways [that is, through the senses], the beauties of the landscape and the comforts of nature pour into the mind. The impression an object makes on one sense can be strengthened by the movement of another. When several senses agree, they enhance the object even more” (151).

Let us consider some of these proposals more closely. Hirschfeld calls upon the garden artist, wherever possible, to “find a spot in his garden with animated views (*vues mouvantes*) of the surrounding area: views of villages, hills, fields, and meadows, where herds graze and the farmer labors; of lakes and rivers enlivened by sailing vessels and fishermen; of distant country roads scattered with walking figures” (160). Movement is in itself beautiful, he claims, for it contains two essential elements: variety and change, since “nothing is more refreshing than the movement of landscape elements; the loveliest tree acquires additional charm when a soft breeze plays in its leaves” (160). Indeed, some features of the landscape are deemed problematic, or worse, if they are not in motion; water is the most obvious, being animation itself when in movement, contemptible and foul when stagnant.¹³

Hirschfeld enlists movement not just through the obvious motion of landscape elements themselves but also in the slower transitions brought on by seasonal and diurnal change, the progress of time, motions that can be not only observed but also read metaphorically. He mentions the flourishing and fading of plants, the less observable but real modifications that occur in the land or its vegetation over long periods, and the vicissitudes of weather. All of these contribute to the animation and vivacity of the garden as it is apprehended.

A landscape designer, like a painter, can also create illusions of movement. One method Hirschfeld suggests is the serpentine line, something that he finds in nature’s model.

An interrelation of rural scenes is never more charming than when it is animated by movement. Both landscape painter and garden artist can achieve this effect partly through employment of the serpentine line, a lesson to be learned from observing nature. . . . Hogarth’s Line of Beauty . . . is too brilliantly visible in the forms and outlines of the landscape to be mistaken; it is thus taught by nature. It is characteristic of mobility, just as the straight line is part of immobility. Its effect is, finally, something that neither the painter nor the garden artist can afford to lose. (142–43)

He even envisions ways in which statues or monuments, though static, can contribute motion to a garden by depicting figures in action. He encourages images that show process, for example, personifications of the virtues at work or a portrait of someone doing something. These he finds especially inspirational for public gardens (408).¹⁴

Hirschfeld provides intriguing examples of implied or illusory movement in creative

¹³ On water, see 95–96, 180–81, 185, 196, 232–51, and 1: 206. On other kinds of movement, see the index to *Theory*.

¹⁴ See also Hirschfeld, *Von der moralischen Einwirkung*, 39 ff., where he praises the genius of Pietro da Cortona’s decorations for Archduke Ferdinand’s palace in Florence, all of which depict virtuous *acts*.

partnership with real movement (which he compares with the allusions to and illusions of movement that are required in painting or sculpture).¹⁵ He rhapsodizes on the pleasures of walking through a grove of tall, shady trees—planted at irregular intervals, of course. And again we see him playing with tricks of perspective, as he describes the “pleasant spectacle” of strollers dispersing themselves among the advancing and retreating trunks, so that “the trees themselves seem to be in movement.”¹⁶ Here, reminiscent of the mower spied atop the trees, real movement creates an illusion that heightens the experience of the viewer, making her see in a new way.

Of course a garden is not just something to be looked at, or for that matter read, nor is its movement something the visitor only *sees*; rather, Hirschfeld conceives of the garden as a spatial creation to be moved through. Given his interest in motion and effect, it is hardly surprising that the *Theory* should include so many descriptions of garden visits. As Lessing appreciated, an account of an experience brings a scene to life in a way that an inventory of visual (or even sensory) elements cannot. Beyond narrating visits in the conventional manner and quoting such accounts, Hirschfeld theorizes on why and how movement is an essential part of one's engagement with a landscape.

A park or very large garden requires a landscape of many different regions: valleys, hills, hollows, mountains, gentle slopes, and precipitous inclines, everything richly alternating. Where the ground offers such variety, vistas proliferate of themselves; it is one thing from the heights, another from the depths; each step leads to a new situation, a new painting, however immobile the objects. Scenes disappear and reappear; new ones envelop the old; locales continually change. You climb, and the horizon expands on all sides; you see regions subside and fade away as you go higher; the blue dome of the sky stretches out to immensity, and at its edge the light of day pales in the hazy distance; amazement and admiration fill the soul. Gentler emotions take their place as you descend again to lower elevations. The sky itself seems to shrink back; at least part of its loveliness retreats behind the ascending land; slopes lead to meadows, woodlands, and lakes. (205)

From such passages, we learn that movement through a garden defines the experience for Hirschfeld. Also, the landscape itself is rhetorically personified and seems to move of its own accord. Note the many active verbs: the sky “shrinks” back, the loveliness “retreats,” scenes “disappear” and “envelop” each other, the land “rises,” slopes “lead” us on. Furthermore, a direct relationship between physical movement and the ability of the various landscape elements affects our feelings. In this way Hirschfeld links motion to its aesthetic correlative, *e*-motion, the basic affective element in his aesthetics. For him the garden's ultimate purpose is to move us as nature does, to touch the soul and heart. It is motion that

¹⁵ See, for instance, 139 f.

¹⁶ See 415. Elsewhere (2:36), Hirschfeld describes the pleasure of seeing people walk among clumps of trees and how each group of strollers creates a dramatic scene for the others as they seem to scatter themselves among the trees “like lovers.” He also describes how islands can appear to be moving along with the water (100–101).

leads to this subjective response. For him motion and emotion are indivisible and in a certain way are synonymous. They are not only figuratively and morally bound but are also joined in linguistic kinship. In his time the noun *Bewegung* meant both *motion* and *emotion*, as the verb *bewegen* meant both *to move physically* and *to touch emotionally*.¹⁷ This ambiguity is also present in English and other Indo-European languages: *emotion*—*ex-movere*, in Latin, or even more suggestively, *ecstasy*—*ek-stásis*, in Greek. Hirschfeld seems to be playing with the double entendre, using the words in ways that leave them essentially equivocal. Certainly his emphasis on feeling and imagination, on subjective reality, and, of course, on nature's loveliness, looks forward to central issues in the Romantic movement. To move through and be moved by perfected nature is the new mimesis.

The roles of movement and emotion in aesthetics had by no means gone unobserved before Hirschfeld. Johann Georg Sulzer, his precursor in German garden aesthetics, cites movement as an important factor in a new hierarchy of the arts, and he devotes several pages of his *General Theory of the Fine Arts* to the subject. Here Sulzer distinguishes the elements of space and time as fundamental to the way in which motion can create beauty. Like Hirschfeld, he conceives of the resulting whole (*das Ganze*) as a unity (*eine Einheit*) of multifarious parts bound together by motion. It is in this unified whole that beauty is finally realized. Sulzer also uses *Bewegung* to express the apprehension of this beauty by the mind, citing "movements of the mind" and "movements of the disposition," namely "emotions," as essential to mental actions.¹⁸ Sulzer makes these observations in relation to the visual arts, and more briefly to music and dance, where he grants the observer the role of becoming the progenitor and locus of the unity in beauty. However, his aesthetic does not include the physical engagement of the observer. In Sulzer's scheme the observer participates by looking, listening, thinking, and by exercising the imagination. Even in his relatively lengthy analyses of garden art and of landscape,¹⁹ Sulzer does not discuss physical motion.

A number of other contemporary philosophers consider the aesthetic role of movement but generally confine their discussion to the visual arts: they do not extend the principle to gardening. The German aesthete Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn wrote *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey* (Observations on painting) and was cited by Hirschfeld.²⁰ Claude-Henri Watelet, whose *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et graveur* contains an entry on movement, does not refer to gardens.²¹ However, his earlier small book was devoted to his own garden, *Le Moulin Joli*, and in it he describes the effects of motion in ways that

¹⁷ Indeed, this verb is included in Hirschfeld's two general laws of garden art and in the basic principle underlying them: "A garden can move the imagination and senses powerfully, more powerfully than can an area whose beauty comes from nature alone" (148).

¹⁸ See the entry on "Bewegung," in Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*.

¹⁹ Although in Germany the role of movement was not a major topic, there was widespread interest in gardens. Goethe, Schiller, and Kant each discussed them.

²⁰ Hirschfeld does not, however, refer to his discussion of movement. See Hagedorn, *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey* (Leipzig, 1762), pt. 2, xli, "Von der Bewegung."

²¹ Claude-Henri Watelet and P. Charles Lévesque, *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et graveur* (Paris: Prault, 1792), vol. 3, "Mouvement."

seem clearly to have inspired Hirschfeld.²² The *Theory* also mentions English forerunners who relate the emotions to novelty and change, each of which we might now interpret as a kind of movement, although this is not how they were discussed at the time.²³

Much of Hirschfeld's aesthetics is indebted to accepted Enlightenment thinking; indeed, in part his book reads like a compilation of prevailing views. On the subject of garden design he drew from the writings of English theorists, particularly Thomas Whately, Henry Home, and Horace Walpole; among German intellectuals he claims only Sulzer as an inspiration.²⁴ Yet among all of them the attention he gives to motion is exceptional. This is underscored in his handling of another conventional debate, namely the argument over the hierarchy of different art forms.²⁵ Traditionally the case was presented as an allegorical competition or *paragone* among poetry, painting, and architecture. It is highly unusual to find gardening included,²⁶ yet Hirschfeld not only accepts the garden as a competitor but, not surprisingly, grants it the prize. The garden's defining ability to embody and inspire motion is precisely what he finds surpasses all other arts: painting is restricted to the mere illusion of

²² See Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins* (Paris, 1774; repr., Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), 98–99 and 109–10. Hirschfeld admired this work and includes two quotations from it in the *Theory*, although not these passages. He refers obliquely to the first (139), and the phrase I have chosen for this essay's epigraph, "Movement, the very soul of nature" (143), is close to Watelet's "Le mouvement, cet esprit de la Nature" (109).

²³ Addison, for instance, whose ideas he comes close to. Cf., e.g., Addison with Hirschfeld (164): "A forest is not new to us, yet clothed in the young foliage of springtime, it assumes the charm of the new. A rose is nothing new to us, yet how delightful the first breaking bud that we find on a stem. The objects we see before us each day are also daily changed by nature, and through their novelty the objects retain an alluring power." See *The Spectator*, no. 412 (Mon., 23 June 1712), 542.

Hirschfeld refers to other theorists who acknowledge a connection between movement and feeling, although he criticizes them for belittling the power of garden art, and he quotes Home's dismissive comment, "The emotions raised by [garden] art, are at best so faint, that every artifice should be used to give them their utmost strength," *Elements of Criticism*, chap. 8, 374–75. The "emotional view of gardening" was a crucial part of Hirschfeld's theory. See Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London and New York: Putnam, 1927 and 1967), 160.

²⁴ He also names Joseph Addison, William Chambers, and Joseph Heely. See the intro. to Hirschfeld, *Theory*. Hirschfeld knew Lessing personally and certainly read other German writers widely, but he does not cite any others in the *Theory*.

²⁵ It is noteworthy that Hirschfeld does not include the theater in his discussions, an artistic genre often compared to garden design, and one in which movement through time and space plays an essential role. Neither does he include music, often seen as the most mimetic of the arts after literature. Kant includes the art of landscape gardening as a subcategory of painting. *Critique of Judgment*, trans. J. H. Bernard (New York: Hafner, 1951), para. 51, 167. In England it was not until Humphry Repton that the landscape garden was so highly ranked among the arts.

²⁶ The figure of gardening does compete in La Fontaine's "Le Songe de Vaux," a fragmentary work of the late 17th century, but she loses, condemned by the judges for her changeableness, her movement, the very qualities that Hirschfeld so admires; see *Oeuvres diverses*, ed. Pierre Clarac (Paris: Gallimard, 1958). Nicolas Fouquet commissioned the "Songe de Vaux" in honor of this spectacular garden. "Le Songe de Vaux" was published in separate fragments between 1665 and 1671, with a "complete" edition of the still fragmentary work appearing in 1729. I have found no evidence that Hirschfeld was familiar with this piece. For an interesting discussion of Vaux and Versailles and Fontaine's rendering of them, see Claire Goldstein, "Two Poems, Two Gardens, Two Masters of the Grand Siècle," *Word & Image* 14 (1998): 306–15. See also Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 18 ff.

movement; architecture and sculpture move only through the movement of the beholder and are rarely capable of the illusion of movement. In contrasting garden art and architecture he compares the challenges and goals facing each artist, insisting that a garden artist must take a different path than the architect, that his work must engage the observer “little by little” and over a long period, arguments that sound reminiscent of Lessing (132–33). As for the rivalry with painting, Hirschfeld often praises gardens for their picturesqueness, but the qualities he finds most distinctive are those that differentiate the two art forms. First of all, a well-designed garden is like a medley of the pictorial arts; it does not merely contain the beauty and power of nature that landscape painters try to capture, but it can encompass the subject matter and action of history painting. He further holds that garden art touches all the senses, affecting us not just by representing action, but by embodying it.²⁷ How then, he asks, could the art that not only suggests movement, offers perceived movement, is itself filled with movement, and involves the viewer in all levels of movement, be anything but superior? The interaction between garden and visitor is essentially dramatic, readily supplying the gamut of emotions that Diderot required of a great painting: “[T]ouch me, surprise me, tear me apart; make me thrill, weep, tremble, make me indignant; then restore me, if you can.”²⁸ For Hirschfeld a great landscape garden aroused all these extreme emotions and the gentler ones; it definitely had restorative powers as well.

None of the mimetic arts is more entwined with nature herself, which is to say more natural, than the art of gardens. Here the portrayal is merged with the actual. Movement is not merely perceived as suggestion but truly felt. Water, which in a landscape painting is animated only through reflections, offers the pleasure of its presence through sight and sound. The eye is offered colors glowing or shimmering with a luster, gaiety, and warmth unrivaled by the magical power of any Titian. The gradual experience of garden scenes offers more protracted and entertaining pleasure than the most lovely and detailed landscape painting, which the eye can quickly encompass. (145)²⁹

²⁷ In the Albertian tradition “the human body *in action* was the best picture of the human soul; and the representation of action and passion was therefore felt to provide, if not a sure means of reaching the soul of the beholder, at any rate a pictorial resource of potentially enormous efficacy which the painter could neglect only at his peril.” Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholding in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 75.

²⁸ “Touche-moi, étonne-moi, déchire-moi; fais-moi tressaillir, pleurer, frémir, m’indigner diabord; tu récréeras mes yeux après, si tu peux” (translation mine). From *Essais*, 714; quoted in Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 79.

²⁹ One of Hirschfeld’s sentences here is close to Whately’s at the opening of *Observations*. Hirschfeld (145): “On the strength of these comparisons of the two arts, it is easy to see that at base the art of gardening is as superior to landscape painting as nature is to a copy.” Whately (1): “Gardening . . . is as superior to landscape painting, as a reality to a representation.” Hirschfeld’s argument is much more elaborate (143): “Yet the landscape painter gives his works the appearance of movement and life through other more obvious means as well, through the staffage of figures, cow pastures, fountains, buildings, and ruins; through everything that announces or suggests the presence of mankind; through the effect of wind in trees and upon stretches of water, through frothy waterfalls. The garden artist can bring movement, the very soul of nature, into his work by almost the same means, with the important advantage that in his case everything becomes a reality.”

In comparison with landscape paintings Hirschfeld finds what he calls the “progressive movement”³⁰ of a garden much more engaging than the illusory movement achievable in two dimensions. He also points to the power of a garden designer to offer the visitor multiple points of view, which can themselves be explored in different combinations, eliciting “a sequence of emotions that emerge spontaneously, affording the mind more pleasure than even the masterpieces of a Saftleven or an Elsheimer can impart” (146). Of course, neither the garden artist nor the visitor can control all aspects of nature’s beauty, especially those ephemeral ones like scudding clouds, rainbows, and the like.³¹ Neither is a garden designer able to specify absolute positions or describe precisely how various elements relate to each other, but Hirschfeld sees this as a creative advantage. And a garden’s naturalness also makes it universal: no special training or education is required before one can take pleasure in it.³² The teleological relationship between the human soul and nature is potentially heightened in a well-designed landscape garden. Here the visitor can experience in concentrated form the unity in multiplicity that cannot be expressed by rules, nor seen in forms, but which nevertheless exists in nature. Importantly, this unity is apprehended by the observer who walks—most often alone—along her own original path, absorbing and responding to the garden’s scenes.

Thus for Hirschfeld movement and feeling are inextricably linked in a relationship more reciprocal than linear. The relationship is also multidimensional. We have seen motion

³⁰ He uses the expression *fortschreitende Bewegung* here to distinguish it from *emotion*, a use of *Bewegung* that appears at the end of the sentence.

³¹ “To be sure, both have not only definite boundaries, where their essential differences are evident, but also particular places where one art demonstrates a greater ease or power and the other must take second place. There is much that eludes the gardener’s art: the beauties of clouds and rainbows, the delightful apparitions at sunrise and sunset, the effects of light upon rocks and mountains, the grace of fortuitous brightening and darkening, the gentle charm of hazy distances, and the like. He cannot, as the painter can, capture these in an illusion; he must simply wait for them as generous gifts of nature toward the improvement of his work. Such events are the property of the painter, not of the garden artist. However much power a painter can infuse into his works through the depiction of engaging moments, just as much is lost to the garden artist. In painting, the landscape seems to be there only because of the action represented; in garden art, the landscape is without action and exists for its own sake. To add more life and interest, Watelet suggests that pantomimes be shown next to temples, altars, and triumphal arches, with appropriate costumes that would mimic ceremonial offerings or dances. If this seems overly far-fetched and too removed from the character of a garden, then it might be more fitting to put on Arcadian activities and festivals. Yet such spectacles, however much they liven things up, can only be produced at certain times; they can only be occasional, not constant, elements. Canvas willingly accepts whatever compositions the painter’s fantasy can devise. The garden artist, however, is often limited by the unruliness of the ground, the resistance of the site and its features in the region where he is building. He cannot be the dictator everywhere. He cannot create with the freedom or ease of a landscape painter. Often he must simply follow nature and let himself be led by what she has fashioned.

But the landscape painter and the garden artist do find common ground in more than one respect. Both find in nature’s landscapes an endless variety of locations, elements, and characters; both need above all to observe and to select” (139).

³² “Our taste for sculpture, painting, and architecture is mostly very limited; in these areas people must learn before they can admire. And taking pleasure in such works becomes engrossing only after a certain amount of time and attention is devoted to them. Yet the charms of a well-designed garden are accessible to the expert or novice without instruction or explanation. The effect of garden art is immediate, its power universal” (149).

informing (or conjuring) emotional responses, and there can be no doubt that emotions transfer meaning to the landscape of motion. Emotions are heightened by the interplay of the senses, by the synesthesia of nature's offerings. This is evident in his inventories of seasonal bounty, foliage, fruits, berries, flowers evoking the pleasures of sight, taste, smell.³³ Hearing is engaged as well—the crunch of leaves underfoot, the roar of wind, the calls of migrating birds; all contribute to the atmosphere's kinetic power, and all arise from and imply movement.³⁴ Hirschfeld shows these movements touching our senses as well as our inner feelings. Part of the movement of the external world, they serve to move our hearts and minds, and they allude to and represent the movement of time—both of the seasons and of life itself. They stir memory and expectation, and we in turn invest them with personal meaning. Hirschfeld was not above invoking such metaphors in his praise of a garden's expressiveness:

Yet life is nothing but a spectacle of flowers; everything resides in movement—burgeoning, flowering, fading, and sprouting anew. Late summer, too, even the autumn of our lives, has flowers of its own, those that bloom longer and more vigorously than spring's fleeting children. Happy is he who knows how to discover the blossoms that accompany each of life's seasons! Happy the man who, sheltered from the storms of the world, enjoys his evening in a restful flower garden and, in his wisdom, revives what the slow fading of fancy has left to wilt! (403–4)

He is explicit about the power of these effects: “[F]or through the progress of growth, through the changes of seasons and storms, through the movements of clouds and water, through the passing presence of birds and insects, through thousands of small happenstances affecting regions and views, a garden boasts a multiplicity of phenomena that can never become tedious, can never fail to delight” (149). For Hirschfeld the heightened emotion that results from this animated, moving spectacle can be accessible to any sensitive human being, anyone receptive to the *outer* senses and able to collect and retain impressions in the memory, and be touched by fancy and “create inner emotions” (171).

In his opinion, then, a major goal of the garden artist is not only to choose scenes that evoke these feelings but also to arrange and combine them to ensure that “a harmonious sequence of different emotions” will result (147–48). The power of engagement in any aesthetic experience was something that Hirschfeld felt could at least be partly quantified

³³ See 4:160 or another synesthetic scene: “Almost nowhere else does nature harmonize her delights more than [in flower gardens]. The purity and softness of color in a hyacinth, balsam, lupine, or mallow; the delicate shadings in the great variety of pinks; the mixing and merging of various muted colors in some tulips; the sweet, delicate, caressing, invigorating, and inspirational fragrances of so many flowers—all this nourishes and sustains the sensation of sweetness that fills the soul with pleasurable satisfaction, with a magical rapture that language cannot express” (404).

³⁴ “Some Woodland Scenes” (220–26) has myriad romantic elements, including a sunset, insects buzzing, and even a *Waldhorn*, a French horn, actually a “modern” instrument at the time. The synesthesia is reminiscent of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*. See Hirschfeld, *Theory*, 37 f. It is interesting to note that Goethe knew Sulzer and refers to him in *Werther*. See Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, ed. by Katharina Mommsen and Richard A. Koc (New York: Suhrkamp, 1987), 8.

through associationist principles already discussed. His analysis of these relationships sounds fairly mechanical at times, prompting Goethe to mock him for being an “anatomist” of nature, for carving up stimulus and response into a dry, scientific system. Yet his views reflect other aspects of Enlightenment aesthetics as well, especially the emphasis on subjectivity. Hirschfeld may have granted different forms fairly specific powers, but he did not see these forms *an sich* as bearers of beauty, or of meaning.³⁵ For him a landscape's beauty and power arose from the multiplicity of scenes and elements, but it was their combination that was decisive. Furthermore, this aesthetic unity may be suggested by the garden design, but it is realized only in the mind of the beholder.

Here again we see Hirschfeld's attention to memory and imagination, themselves ways of moving through space and time. He describes the process of reflection as “the rare art of turning inside ourselves” (360), and interiority is also implicit in the German terms for memory (*Erinnerung*, to put something inside oneself) and imagination (*Einbildungskraft*, the power to form or shape something inside oneself). He extends the metaphor by describing how we turn within ourselves and discover there what he calls “a labyrinth of events,” as well as “the slippery path of life” that beckons us to proceed toward the future (360). Meaning comes through the interaction of memory and expectation, and, of course, through movement. For Hirschfeld the walk through life has many parallels with a garden walk. In fact, by the turn of the century the taking of walks had gained the attention of popular philosophers in Germany. A study published in 1802, for example, *Die Spatziergänge oder die Kunst spazieren zu gehen* (Walking, or the art of taking walks), recognized walking as a spiritual activity, and its goal the ethical betterment of the walker.³⁶

I turn now to one final metaphor: the garden as text and, in Hirschfeld's case, the text as garden.³⁷ Like the ideas embedded in a text, the elements of a garden are not absolute, a fact that augments rather than hinders their suggestive power. As in a text, one comes upon them sequentially, and to make a whole out of their variety and multiplicity (two of Hirschfeld's favorite words) requires active work on the part of the memory, the senses, and the imagination. The entire picture is never there all at once but, like a text, constantly evolves in time. Since a garden's multidimensionality and intertextuality allow it both to be and to suggest at the same time, no one moment can contain its meaning. A garden must be

³⁵ Many of these ideas were in the air and certainly influenced Hirschfeld, although he makes no direct reference to many sources that seem obvious to us, such as English sensualism or Leibniz. Both Locke and Hume—likewise not cited by Hirschfeld—had already rejected the doctrine of innate ideas and thus helped turn epistemological attention to the production of *Erkenntnis* in the act of perception. Kant (1790) too saw knowledge arising from sensation and perfected by reflection. See Michael Gamper, *Die Natur ist republikanisch: Zu den ästhetischen, anthropologischen und politischen Konzepten der deutschen Gartenliteratur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1998), 174.

³⁶ By Karl Gottlob Schelle (Leipzig: Martini, 1802). On the cultural history of walking in this period, see Gudrun M. König, *Eine Kulturgeschichte des Spaziergangs: Spuren einer bürgerlichen Praktik, 1780–1850* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996). See also Gamper, *Die Natur ist republikanisch*, 182–88 and 197 ff. See also Angelika Wellmann, *Der Spaziergang: Stationen eines poetischen Codes* (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1991).

³⁷ See Hunt, *Greater Perfections*, chap. 6, “Gardens in Word and Image.”

engaged. Recall Lessing's description of the famous Laocoön group. The sculptor, Lessing argues, needed to choose the single moment that would best encapsulate the narrative and suggest Laocoön's agony; by depicting not the climactic but the "fruitful" moment, the moment most full of promise, he has succeeded, allowing the tragic figure's horrible cry to remain latent, its potency forever undiminished. Only through the potentiality contained in the frozen, not-yet-climactic moment, can the visual arts approach the suggestiveness of a temporal art form. For Hirschfeld, however, a garden, like a text, can accompany us *through* the experience, can engage us to approach from various perspectives—a garden can intimate, cajole, but leave us to shape the response.

Hirschfeld's descriptions are, of course, texts, but texts that conjure up sequential encounters with the natural world. As he describes the piling up of impressions, there is an acceptance of the veracity of feeling and sensation independent of understanding and reason, as well as a promise of transcendental, Platonic understanding.

The spirit becomes content, the mind alert, feelings more gentle and refined. The entire being seems more alive and strives more eagerly and successfully to achieve its fullest potential. Certainly most people underestimate the effects of lovely country and garden scenes on man's imagination and sensibility. Our fancy, nourished by these, will not linger in the depths, among inanimate objects; it will learn to rise aloft, to fly easily from one series of new images to the next, until it soars beyond the familiar forms into a contemplation of original beauty and greatness, in raptures infinitely more sublime than those caused by the ordinary impressions of nature upon our senses. (150)

According to Plato's epistemology, every stage of imitation is one step further removed from the truth. However, because a garden imitates in the medium of the imitated, it short-circuits one critical step in this regression. This is a clever if facile rationale for the superiority of garden art. The passage above demonstrates that for Hirschfeld the process of appreciating a garden is itself a kind of movement, a sweeping journey through one's own feelings, a synthesizing process of remembering and moving beyond. The garden visitor recreates not so much a topographic whole as a subjective engagement that leads to an awareness of metaphysical truth.

In this way of thinking, the art of gardening becomes a philosophy of nature's various elements, of their power and effect on man, and of ways to intensify their impression upon us. That is to say, garden art is not called upon merely to amuse the outer senses but to brighten the inner spirit, to enrich our fantasy, and to refine our feelings. It enhances our capacity for taste and our appreciation of art, and it engages our creative spirit where it has thus far had little effect, thereby ennobling the works of nature and improving this planet that is our temporary dwelling place. (149)

For Hirschfeld a garden was a near divine thing—"a school of wisdom, a philosophy of nature." Yet he never actually made a garden himself. He wrote about them. And he

knew that many in his audience would never create a garden or visit any of the landscapes he describes. By moving the locus of value to the beholder, by emphasizing subjectivity and experience, he allows the garden visitor and, indeed, the garden reader to do so. For Hirschfeld a text need not just amplify but could take the place of actual experience. Thus he gave his readers five lengthy volumes encompassing several genres—prose, poetry, history, philosophy, travel description, and illustration—a work that is part objective reportage and part subjective effusion. Hirschfeld wrote more extensively on gardens than any of his predecessors. Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that he had more to say about movement than anyone before him. This is not because he was an acute analytical thinker or particularly original. Rather, his insights, some profound, arose from the task that he set himself and the encyclopedic strategy he adopted to do it justice.

I suggest that Hirschfeld intended his text to lead the reader through an imagined world, to emulate the affective power of moving through the natural landscape, touching the fancy in a comparable away. Certain of his contemporaries defined ideas as remembered things and considered them less forceful than the actuality of present objects.³⁸ Does Hirschfeld agree? He seems to take both sides of the argument, for he offers an impassioned plea for the ability of nature, especially when shaped by artifice, to move us more than the other arts; but his *Theory* is above all a paean to the role of the imagination in determining human perception.

For many of the emerging bourgeoisie of the eighteenth century, reading was the next best thing to experiencing something firsthand; indeed, the armchair was often the preferred mode of “travel.” Certainly Hirschfeld intended his book to be a contribution to German literary culture; and although his own artistic product was not a garden but a text, for him the ultimate goal of both was the *experience*, the *effect*, that resulted from the encounter with and movement through the choreographed, natural world on the one hand and the printed book on the other. The connection between walking and writing—the progress through a series of ideas—has a long history from Plato to Montaigne³⁹ and onward to Lessing. In an age of reading, the reader becomes the wanderer in the garden, and by this means mimesis is both achieved and deconstructed.⁴⁰

³⁸ Henry Home, for instance, ranks vision above language; see Home, *Elements of Criticism*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Kincaid and Bell, 1762; repr. 1967), 66.

³⁹ See Wellmann, *Der Spaziergang*, 13–18, etc.

⁴⁰ Like Hogarth's line of beauty, Hirschfeld's prose leads us along a meandering path. Hogarth's narrative paintings were themselves meant to be read sequentially, even from left to right. See Murray Roston, *Changing Perspectives in Literature and the Visual Arts, 1650–1820* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 171.

Sensing the Stones: Bernard Lassus and the Ground of Landscape Design

Stephen Bann

*The crooked road, the road on which the foot senses the stones, the road
which turns back on itself—this is the road of art.*

—Viktor Shklovskii¹

The subject of motion and landscape design poses methodological problems of a special order. It is not simply a question of presenting the sensory appeal of landscape and garden designs through verbal commentary and illustrations, but one of conveying and analyzing the experience of motion in relation to such landscapes. To pursue this rocky metaphor, the project seems to be piling Pelion on Ossa. What makes it worthwhile is that we do not come away believing that a still image is an adequate substitute for the experience of visiting a garden or landscape. A photographic view is bound to be a crafty rearrangement of visual data in accordance with the limited viewpoint of the camera. This is so much so that the stimulus of unusual views, like the panoramic photographs of Geoffrey James, is needed to remind us how much more congruent with our experience of visiting the image will appear, once the tyranny of a single vanishing point is exorcised.² Facing James's works, we experience vicariously the choice of taking a particular path within an extended visual field. We learn how to read the photographic testimony against the grain.

Landscape Art and Landscape Design

My contribution to this volume bears on two landscape designs of Bernard Lassus. For these achievements, there exist not only effective visual documents but also ample authorial

¹ Shklovskii, "The Relationship between Devices of Plot Construction and General Devices of Style," in *Theory of Prose*, trans. Benjamin Sher (Bloomington and Normal: Illinois State University Dalkey Archive, 1991), 15. The original Russian language edition appeared in 1929.

² See, e.g., his collections of panoramic photographs of Italian villa gardens and the Roman *campagna* in *Giardini italiani: Un pellegrinaggio fotografico* (Rome: Palazzo Braschi, 1985) and *La campagna romana* (Montreal: Editions Galerie René Blouin, 1990).

descriptions and theoretical writings that make the task of elucidation more convincing.³ However, I begin by adopting a strategy of deliberate disorientation by focusing upon examples from a different historical and cultural repertoire. It is my hypothesis that various novel aspects of contemporary landscape practice—including the distinctive experience of motion within the garden—can be appreciated more fully by looking at the earliest decades of the seventeenth century, a time when the classic “Claudian” landscape had not yet emerged as a paradigm. The influence of Claudian landscape on the conception and creation of eighteenth-century gardens, particularly those of the English tradition, has been universally admitted. But, insofar as the contemporary experience of landscape may involve a radical break with the predominantly visual emphasis of this tradition, it may be beneficial to direct attention to the sensory effects of the still unformed landscape sensibility of this earlier period.

Proto-landscapes from the almost unknown Goffredo Wals, thought by some to have been Claude’s teacher, to those of the better known from the Dutch School alert us to different “plastic” equivalents for the communication of the experience of being in the landscape. Here I use them as models without suggesting a direct influence on Lassus’s strategies. Because they form part of the historical evolution of Western landscape practice, the features I single out are not arbitrary; they point to a submerged strand in the landscape tradition that is resurfacing at present. They thus contribute to the evaluation of the cultural roots of contemporary projects like Lassus’s. I have written of the advantages of using such early seventeenth-century material to understand, by a process of direct comparison and contrast, many signifying strategies of present-day Land artists.⁴ I take a similar tack in surveying visual documents from this rich, understudied epoch, when the conventions of landscape painting had not fully coalesced and the traces of a sensory investment that would be eliminated in later developments of the genre were not yet discerned.

The emergence of landscape in the Venetian tradition—that aspect of the Giorgionesque that Walter Pater qualified as anticipating “park scenery”⁵—implies an almost programmatic distinction between urban space and what lies beyond it. The absorbing *Game of Chess* by Paris Bordone (ca. 1550; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), which Jean-Louis Schefer took as the pretext for his semiotic study,⁶ juxtaposes the urban piazza set out in marble squares with the informal space of the *fête champêtre*. The former is linked metonymically to the chessboard where two patrician figures are at play. It is implied that the positioning of pieces on the board is analogous to the control exercised by a ruling class

³ A substantial selection of Lassus’s texts on gardens and landscape covering more than three decades has been brought together in English in Lassus, *The Landscape Approach* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

⁴ See my “Map as Index of the Real: Land Art and the Authentication of Travel,” in *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 46 (1994); also “La Carte indice du réel,” in Monique Mosser and Philippe Nys, eds., *Le Jardin, art et lieu de mémoire* (Besançon: Editions de l’Imprimeur, 1995), 447–60; and my study of an early 17th-century collector John Bargrave: *Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler and Witness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

⁵ Pater, *The Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1906), 153.

⁶ See Schefer, *Scénographie d’un tableau* (Paris: Seuil, 1969).

upon the structures of urban life.⁷ The thickets and shades of the countryside, by contrast, seem to evade the orderly structuring of the civic scene, in the same measure as they evade the mathematical determinations of the recently codified Albertian perspective.

One northern landscape, Paul Bril's *Venus and Adonis* (ca. 1600; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angoulême), shows an even more evident contrast between the lure of alternative spaces and the configuration of implied movements within them. This work comes across as a composite picture, in which the main subject—the mythic lovemaking of Venus and Adonis—is a version of the Ovidian subject lifted from Titian's celebrated painting. However, to the left stretches a vertiginous blue-green landscape prospect deriving from Albrecht Altdorfer and the northern School. It hints at the habitual practices of medieval journeying: in the foreground, a pilgrim is on his knees at a wayside shrine; the vista is differently composed to the right, where an abundantly leafy forest creates a massive and almost impenetrable barrier, traversed only by the occasional deer or bird in flight. Into this dark labyrinthine space, the hunter Adonis is setting out, with his hounds who are straining at the leash.

These alternate vistas in Bril's painting set up an almost programmatic opposition of views. On the left, the vista of the journey stretches to the limits of what the eye can see and, by implication, beyond. This contrasts with the nearby spectacle of a humble pilgrim in prayer. On the right lies the virgin forest, preserve of the mythical hunter, into whose rich and palpitating interior the sense of smell of Adonis's eager hounds affords a keen solicitation.

Neither painting, however, is concerned with manifesting the phenomenology of space from the spectator's viewpoint. Indeed this would be a vain and anachronistic requirement, more indicative of the desires of a modern commentator than the intentions of an early landscape artist, if it were not for the evidence of one artist from the turn of the seventeenth century: Goffredo Wals. Little is known about him except that he was born in Cologne around 1595 and died in Calabria, reputedly in an earthquake, around 1638. However, the only scholarly work devoted to Wals points to his pivotal significance.⁸ His landscapes are distinctive, and many are in major collections: the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas; the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The first two I consider here; it appears that the Fitzwilliam's landscape is a less-developed version of the one in the Kimbell.

The most significant aspect these small paintings share is their circular shape. It is worth digressing to consider the formal and perceptual effects produced by this comparatively unusual feature. When the circular format was developed extensively during the

⁷ The continued existence of a central piazza laid out in the form of a chessboard in the small town of Marostica near Verona testifies to the strength of this analogy. Marostica has turned the periodic chess games involving lifesize pieces into a strong tourist attraction. The checkered ground was also a central device for ensuring orderly diminution of the size of objects according to Alberti's rules of perspective.

⁸ The only important source on Wals is Anke Repp, *Zur Landschaftsmalerei zwischen Adam Elsheimer und Claude Lorrain* [On landscape painting between Adam Elsheimer and Claude Lorrain] (Cologne: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 1985); see 21 for an outline of his life.

following century by French Rococo painters like Nicolas Lancret, the effect was to compress and flatten space, in accordance with the decorative requirements of the then current style. However, Wals was not interested in this. He offers spacious views with sharply receding perspectives. As John Ruskin writes, the circular or vignette format does not complicate but facilitates correct perspectival recession. There is, however, a metonymic side effect brought about by their shape as it is combined with his selection of natural and built forms in each work. Wals creates an enhanced consciousness in the spectator of the material conditions that underlie the prospect. It would be anachronistic to compare the effect of looking into a Wals landscape to that of looking into a telescope or microscope, since his works predate their widespread diffusion. Nor is it worthwhile to search for specific technological aids he may have employed in producing his initial sketches. But there is a dividend in the use that he makes of the circle as a framing device, if only because of the optical metaphor brought into play. The roundness of the works alludes to the physical constitution of the eye witnessing these vicarious views.

However, the content of his images both underlines and challenges this tentative reading. In *Landscape with Christ and John the Baptist* (Fig. 1), the most striking feature of the prospect is the circular or cylindrical tower on the far bank of the Jordan River. A kind of equivalence is established between this prominent form, into which we project a sense of cylindrical volume and the circular format of the painting, which creates a spatial tunnel between spectator and object. This effect would be considerably diminished if the river did not form a uniform barrier, which both frames the site of the cylindrical building and impels the eye to focus on it. Because no baptism is taking place and Christ and John the Baptist are walking parallel to the picture plane without any indication of a privileged point where the baptism will take place, the viewer must assume that the famous event of the Bible has already occurred. Thus this displacement of attention is accentuated.

However, this account inadequately explains what Wals achieved by frustrating viewer expectations. It is as if the work had been emptied of narrative content, only to be refilled with minutely discriminated “plastic” effects, which can be read in terms of their specific adequacy to the different levels of materiality represented in the scene. The foreground becomes not only a threshold for the eye to pass beyond but also a trodden stretch of earth; the pair of figures, engaged in no ascertainable symbolic interaction, is acting by walking. The sophisticated brushwork that Wals uses to differentiate water, earth, sky, and foliage was not intended as a registration of personal touch, as it would on an Impressionist canvas. Still, it creates a tense membrane, which incorporates the viewer’s perceptions of texture and depth through the painted surface.

In *A Country Road by a House* (Fig. 2), the symbolic element is negligible because the landscape from the Fitzwilliam has no white lilies in the foreground.⁹ The presence of two in the landscape from the Kimbell, evidently by calculated choice, cannot be taken as

⁹ Neither of these paintings is illustrated in Repp because they had not been discovered when *Zur Landschaftsmalerei* was published. It can be argued that the work in the National Gallery of Scotland is as much—and as little—a baptism in the Jordan as the Kimbell work is—or is not—a Visitation.



1. Goffredo Wals, *Landscape with Christ and John the Baptist*, oil on copper, ca. 1620 (courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh)

devoid of thematic interest. Given the connection of the lily with the Annunciation, the two distant figures greeting one another in the distance as the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, the two female participants in the traditional iconography of a Visitation. However, the most striking outcome of a comparison between the two works is the discovery that the painting in the Kimbell inverts the system of the painting in the National Gallery. The town or village distantly glimpsed on the horizon is not capable of anchoring the eye to the same extent as the circular tower. The broad pathway that proceeds toward the horizon and occupies at least one-third of the total surface stretches between a high wall and a massive bank of earth. Besides the two distant figures, whose identities are masked by distance, a single traveler is resting in the shade of the steep bank. What is perceptible in the light of these recessive features—and what takes the place of the effect of the cylindrical tower in *Landscape with Christ and John the Baptist*—is the long line of boulders along the roadway, oblique to our gaze. At the bottom, almost as if it had come to rest after sliding down the smooth track of the internal framing edge, is another boulder, rocklike and half covered with small climbing plants. An unusual kind of relationship to the spectator is proposed. This is not the customary relationship of “bodily access” that Norman Bryson defines in relation to the *Spotalizio* of Raphael, where the imposing flight of steps to the temple is tempting us to stride onto the scene.¹⁰ Wals offers nothing in the way of a broad Albertian prospect that solicits the eye and so attracts the body in its train.

¹⁰ Bryson, *Vision and Painting* (London: Macmillan, 1983).



2. Goffredo Wals (ca. 1595–1638, German), *A Country Road by a House*, oil on copper, 9.5 in. diam., ca. 1620s (courtesy of the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas)

On the contrary, the broad pathway with its obliquely strewn stones cuts across the optical prospect. We are in the shade and see little of what engages the attention of the two distant figures or the form of the third figure, the traveler who presumably is resting before continuing on his way. Yet, precisely out of that material resistance of the image to any form of recuperation is generated a concrete sense of the walk as an invitation.

The dynamic of landscape production moves quickly after this early seventeenth-century phase in a different direction. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize how much depended in the later evolution of Northern landscape painting on the historical and cultural specificity of particular locations. Writing on the art of Haarlem in the early modern period, Elisabeth de Bièvre points out how far the themes and motifs in landscape representation were “formed by the city’s history and its environment.”¹¹ Perhaps it is this uncompromising sense of specific locale, expressed figuratively in the rearing up of an eroded bank beside a well-trodden road, that gives a memorable quality to Salomon van Ruysdael’s *Landscape with Sandy Road* (1628; Norton Simon Museum, Los Angeles). It also seems to be present in a painting by his nephew Jacob van Ruysdael, *Dune Landscape* (ca. 1645; Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem), almost an anthology of the physical features, some natural and some stoutly manmade, that formed the matrix of Haarlem’s development that determined its struggle for survival against the competition of nearby Amsterdam.

¹¹ De Bièvre, “Violence and Virtue: History and Art in the City of Haarlem,” *Art History* 11, no. 3 (1988): 327.

The long line of the dunes forms a rampart against the ocean in the right-hand distance, differentiated only in its insistent materiality from the lowering gray sky. The fields protected by the coastal defenses testify to the vigor of local industry, as they were used for the drying of the linen woven within the town. Ruysdael also provides a detail in the right foreground that accentuates the material density of its location on a thin lip of land between sea and lake. A dog is pursuing its prey into a burrow in the sand below a jaunty windmill. In J.M.W. Turner's well-known *Rain, Steam and Speed* (1844; National Gallery, London), a fleeing hare and a pounding steam engine are juxtaposed above a valley prospect in which ethereal nymphs celebrate the *genius loci* of Maidenhead. Everything in the scene offers the sublime vision of a thermodynamic order incorporating and transcending the world of the preindustrial past. In Ruysdael, however, the obdurate resistance of the natural and manmade elements testifies to the history and culture of seventeenth-century Haarlem: the sullen dunes, the plantations of trees that furnish the shipbuilders, and the precious linen drying in the fields.

According to Turner's impassioned eulogist, John Ruskin, the art of landscape painting in Europe evolved from the late Middle Ages in the direction of a mimetic accuracy that reached its peak with Turner.¹² The Claudian school of landscape, carrying all before it in the seventeenth century, had, however, instilled a pernicious habit of idealization that needed to be corrected by the English painter's stubborn adherence to the representation of fact. Here I have focused on the aesthetic preferences of the Northern landscape painters with an emphasis on Wals. The idiosyncratic format and cunning manipulation of perspective in his paintings brings home the distinctive status of the spectator implied in them. It is as if the pictorial prospect were not to be thought of as an extensive space dominated by the eye but as a threshold inviting purposive movement.

Designers of post-eighteenth-century European gardens were enamored with the Claudian tradition. The pictorial metaphors applied to a number of great gardens over this period have foregrounded the creation of extensive vistas, with architectural features and sculptural "eyecatchers" lending support in their overall composition. Only occasionally, as in Rousseau's exquisite description of the *Jardin de Julie* in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, has any attempt been made to run counter to the Claudian model and emphasize propinquity instead of the distant view. Indeed his characterization of a new type of garden—and garden visitor—serves as a paradigm for the effects I have isolated in Wals's work and trace to Lassus's garden schemes.

The direction will have a certain vagueness to it like the approach of an idle person who wanders as he walks. He will not be anxious to pierce through into the distance with fine perspectives. The taste for points of view and distant prospects comes from the propensity of most people only to be content with the place

¹² See Ruskin, *Modern Painters* (London: George Allen, 1897), 3: 215: "The moment the sky is introduced [in medieval manuscript illumination] . . . the spirit of art becomes forever changed, and thenceforward it gradually proposes imitation more and more as an end, until it reaches the Turnerian landscape."

where they are not. They are always greedy for what is far off from them . . . But the person I speak of—the person of taste who knows how to enjoy himself on his own—does not have this anxiety, and when he is content where he is, he is not concerned to be elsewhere. Here one has no view extending outside the spot, and one is quite happy not to have any.¹³

Lassus's Contemporary Approach

These references to aspects of the history of landscape painting in the early modern period stand as a prolegomenon to the discussion of Lassus's contemporary work. No direct connection between the works of these pre-Claudian painters and Lassus's contemporary approach is implied. The reading of their aesthetic features fleshes out the general point that Rousseau makes so forcibly in his critique of the Claudian garden. They enable us to pick out what is distinctive and relevant to the historical development of landscape art in two of his recent realizations. One opening comparison may be made, however, since it implies a connection between pictorial representation and experimental action. Ruisdael delights in celebrating the visual effects of the attention that his fellow citizens paid to the opening up of the waterways of the maritime republic. He shows water gushing from the millrace, and he contrasts the sodden wooden planks and stumps with the firm embankments stabilized by blocks of stone. But what if the onlooker were to imagine this concatenation of material elements from the point of view of someone wanting to experience the turbulence of those foaming waters—right in amongst it rather than taking a glimpse from the safety of the bank? In 1967 Lassus made a documented walk along the gorges of the Aradin River, taking photographs along the way and adding text to take account of the momentary shifts and starts in his progress along the riverbed (Fig. 3). This was presented as a series of rapid choices based on successive, precise calculations of the moves open to him.

Now I move forward in the direction of the current, evaluating at each step the spot on which to place the next one.

At certain moments diverse choices are posed. Here I prefer a more linear progress, chopped by vertical ruptures, there a more horizontal, though extremely sinuous, course. Compared to those of a walk through town, these movements have length and depth at the same time. Each step combines the two dimensions in varying proportions and can even be interchanged. . . . From the obscure depths of the water of the basin steadily emerge, from all sides, rock, sand, and gravel, and then

¹³ My translation, quoted from Louis Marin, *Lectures traversières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1992), 68. Marin's analysis of the passages describing the *Jardin de Julie* is extremely helpful in bringing out the features that I note and apply throughout this essay. See also my *True Vine* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 150, for analysis of the "Claudian landscape [as] a device for projecting us into the domain of the imaginary."

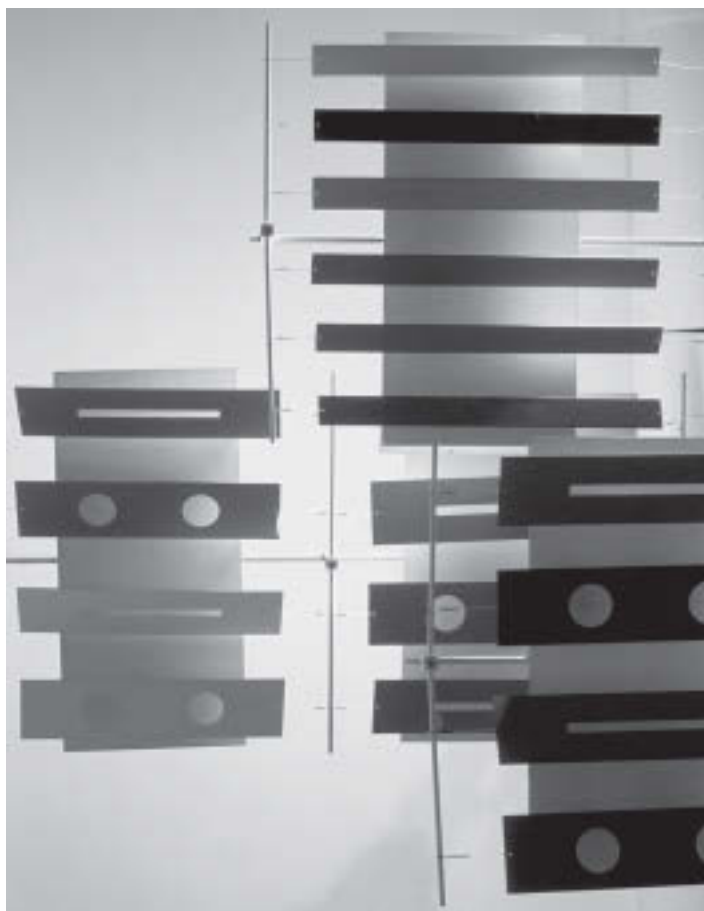


3. *Lassus, Walk in the Bed of the Aradin, detail, 1967 (photo: courtesy of the artist)*

the flow and its fine surface, sliding across these accumulations, recopying their forms.¹⁴

This early text seems of capital importance in understanding why it is that Lassus's work is relevant to the experience of motion in the context of landscape design. It is also significant when related to early examples of landscape painting. The experience of motion is linked to the progressive recognition and negotiation of obstacles: obstacles in that the eye is denied its regime of mastery and the body must incorporate calculations as to the precise chances of balance or imbalance involved in each step. The pictorial convention whereby the city is the place of movement according to patterns determined by the chessboard—and the country the location of the impenetrable forest—finds its correlative in Lassus's recognition that the walk in the riverbed must involve both length and depth. Each step must be measured in terms of these spatial registers rather than directing motion to a visible goal. Indeed the artistic recombination of the elements of visual experience in photographic form at the end of the walk becomes a multifaceted spectacle in which the materials involved—rock, sand, gravel, and the fluctuating surface of the water—meet on the secondary level of representation. This is suggestive of the sequence of kinetic works entitled *Ambiances*, which Lassus produced in the late 1960s with artificial light (Fig. 4). These geometrically ordered color components were transformed by reflection into myriad displays of ambient color, which simulate the diversity of a living environment.

¹⁴ Lassus, *Landscape Approach*, 14–15.



4. *Lassus, Brise-lumière, ca. 1965* (photo: courtesy of the artist)

From these examples of Lassus's method, I can make a further point about my approach. His documented wading through the Aradin River is more than a physical exploration of the course of a particular walk, which recalls the strategy of Land artists like Hamish Fulton and Richard Long. On a theoretical and pedagogical level, it is a demonstration of the way in which experience of a particular physical environment can serve as a paradigm for the experience of landscape in general, contributing to the design of new landscapes that will be responsive to such experiential criteria. My strategy for drawing attention to the features of Lassus's work that reflect this initial type of experiment also necessarily takes the form of a sequence of images with commentary. But my examples need interpretation in order to convey adequately the message of motion. Sometimes they show the different locations in overcast weather, with the ground covered with a thin layer of water, rather than beneath the luminous perfection of a cloudless sky. Nevertheless, offering images to be admired is secondary to conveying the sense of movement expressed in a calculated series of steps. Even the lowering sky has its uses in deflecting attention from the distant to the near, from the infinite expanse of blue to the incidental intersections of surfaces, levels, and material textures.

Garden of Returns

Lassus's Garden of Returns at Rochefort-sur-Mer (Figs. 5–16), the successive plans for which date from 1982 to 1987, exists in a relatively mature state with the basic plan carried out and the main features apparent.¹⁵ It draws its interest and originality from its designer who was keen to avoid a typical *jardin à la française* around the classical buildings of the Corderie. In his view, its function as a factory for the preparation of cordage for the French fleet, resulting in long workshops whose extent was not modulated by traditional considerations of visual balance, prevented any possibility of resolving the problems of the site through a centrally planned, axial garden scheme. Nor did he wish to incorporate the area into the dilapidated stretch of public parkland parallel to the Corderie, which was a vestige of the traditional French garden originally linked to the Rochefort naval base.

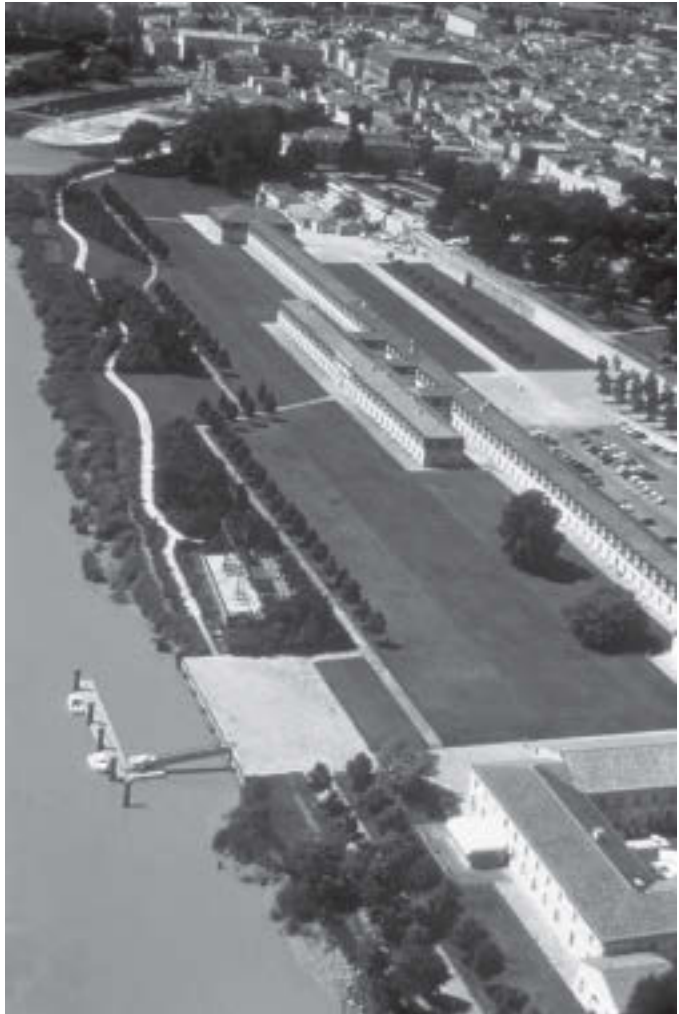
The concept that Lassus developed involved the reestablishment of a series of historical and cultural connections between the building on the riverfront and the town, which had been cut off, barred here from the Charente by the gradual deterioration of the riverbank. However, the visual strategy for carrying out this work of cultural reassimilation depended implicitly on a creation of visual obstacles. In a move reminiscent of his unrealized scheme for the Garden of the Anterior in 1975, Lassus arranged for a “consolidation” of the different levels between the riverside and the access area to the town.¹⁶ A substantial stone wall was reinforced and a ramp constructed for access so as not to interfere with the view of the site from above. This structural differentiation between the visual and tactile scales anticipated in Lassus's theoretical texts can also be seen as a reference to the central problematic of the Aradin experiment. A visitor who pauses before entering the garden proper can appreciate the dimensions of length and depth presented simultaneously and thus understand how they might interact in the experience of moving through the garden on foot. On the other side of the Corderie, a similar structure is set up by the division of the zone close to the river into densely planted areas that impede a view of the long façade in its entirety. Instead, it appears as a series of successive openings at an oblique angle to the passenger aboard a riverboat or the visitor who walks along either of the parallel paths that traverse almost the entire length of the site. These paths are constructed so as to offer a visual alternative, which is disclosed progressively from behind a straight row of formally planted trees, between the appeal of a formal, rectilinear walk parallel to the main building and the more devious, serpentine gravel path along the riverbank (see Figs. 8, 9, 10). The differentiation of ground surfaces is important for communicating the different characteristics to pedestrians. The gravel route winds without disclosing a broad view in either

¹⁵ Ibid., 131–40, for Lassus's description of the project.

¹⁶ Ibid., 110–15, for Lassus's description of his Garden of the Anterior for the new town L'Isle d'Abeau. This visionary scheme anticipated the Garden of Returns, not least in the aim of articulating local history and legend through garden features. The creation of a rampart to divide the constructed zone from the natural zone—while offering an overview—presages the ramp and retaining wall at the Garden of Returns at Rochefort.

5–16. *Views of Lassus's
Garden of Returns* (photos:
courtesy of the artist unless
otherwise noted)

5. (right) *Aerial view*



6. (below) *View from the
town side*





7. *View down the ramp*

direction. Its edges are trimmed, but the vegetation hemming it in is what is to be expected on the banks of the Charente. The formal route has a border of rectangular colored tiles that reflect light and frame the central tarmac. At riverside, the hedges are clipped into geometrical patterns, which echo the built forms of the nearby Corderie. Except in inclement weather, walking across the grass is commonplace. Pedestrians unfamiliar with the landscape must “calculate” how best to proceed: Is a straight route preferable to the winding one? Set against the functional alternative, is an aesthetic preference better for its possible surprise or delay? Which surface is more congenial to the footfall?

Wals’s careful disposition of stones and pebbles has its correlative in the minute attention to the variations between levels and materials. Near the Corderie, Lassus laid down cobbles lower than the surface of the surrounding lawns (see Figs. 14, 15, 16). This device secures thoughtful participation from the visitor, who is then less likely to imagine that the garden surrounding the historic building is a natural zone that preceded architectural construction. The Garden of Returns then is a contemporary creation, even though it lacks marks of contemporaneity.

Well-meaning patrons have offered works for the site by present-day sculptors, but Lassus has succeeded in keeping them at bay thus far. The menace of contemporary sculpture, likely not averted in perpetuity, reminds us of a particular claim being made for this garden and for all garden landscapes. Such a garden is not merely a “container” for leisure activities and facilities that benefit from its comparative open space. Like great formal gardens of the past, it contains areas of special interest, or “garden features.” Lassus carefully designed at one end of the central section an evergreen labyrinth devoted to the memory of naval battles and at the other a successful *aire des gréments*. It has a wooden platform like a ship’s deck and a full complement of masts and rigging, which are sited on the remaining



8. (left) *A choice of paths*



9. (above) *Pedestrian on the gravel path along the riverbank (photo: courtesy of Simon Hodgkinson)*



10. (left) *Another view of the gravel path*



11. Riverbank



*12. (above)
Formal path in
the rain (photo:
courtesy of Simon
Hodgkinson)*



*13. (left) Formal
path in sunshine*



14. (left) Cobblestones and grass



15. (above) Aire des gréments at left



16. (left) Intersection of surfaces

base of a concrete blockhouse (see Fig. 15). But these do not prevent the garden as a whole from being a realized unity. It is already full, and the existence of long stretches of green turf, far from being an invitation to new interventions of a different order, is a necessary part of the overall scansion of the space. Lassus shows himself to be at the opposite end of the scale from Bernard Tschumi in his ill-fated design for the Jardin de la Villette, where largely functionless postmodern pavilions punctuate a large area whose overall dimensions and varying levels have been rendered meaningless by his disconcertingly detached and punctual treatment.¹⁷

Crazannes

Rochefort to Crazannes is a short journey by car (Fig. 17), but it is an important move as regards the new types of landscape that Lassus was commissioned to design. Crazannes was the site of a former quarry that provided stone for many prestigious building projects in the medieval and early modern periods and was still recognizable in the recent past through its vestigial workings and yellowish outcrops. As a result of the decision to direct the new Rochefort-Saintes highway, the Autoroute des Oiseaux, across the site, Lassus was commissioned in 1995 to design a motorway rest area (*aire d'autoroute*). The scheme was virtually complete by the end of 1999, and the main text associated with the design bears the title *The Walk in the Quarries at Crazannes*.¹⁸ Where Rochefort offered the chance of binding a historic but neglected building into a new and subtle relationship with the adjacent town, Crazannes, with its rocky outcrops and its concealed workings, provided a considerable hazard as well as an opportunity. The obstacle it represented has, however, been largely transformed in accordance with Lassus's landscape approach. The motorway rest area is a space that necessarily overrides the town and country opposition. It is the epitome of a new type of liminal space, in which two types of terrain and two widely differing styles of motion coincide, leaving us to ask where best to view the *aire*: from the highway in a car that might slow down for a moment to register the abrupt change in the surrounding landscape; from a bridge across the highway, in which case the view takes in both the speeding vehicles and the gully of stone features through which the viewers are passing; from the terrain surrounding the Aire de Crazannes, where a museum recounting the history and ecology of the quarries is at the disposal of motorists; or indeed, as in Lassus's original plan, from the constructed belvederes where "one will be able to view long perspectives without entering them."

These different viewpoints cannot be reconciled with the notion of a single privileged viewpoint or a single point perspective. Yet there is a sense in which this project, involving huge displacements of rock in the first instance and a commitment to open up the surrounding walks, which is still in the process of fulfillment, can be viewed in terms of the

¹⁷ For the successive designs submitted by Lassus for the Jardin de la Villette (Garden of the Planets), see Lassus, *Landscape Approach*, 116–18, 121–24.

¹⁸ Ibid., 176–81.

17. *Approach from
the highway to
Crazannes (photo:
courtesy of Simon
Hodgkinson)*



classic tradition of landscape theory and practice. Lassus has lightly referred to the “Land Art installation” along both sides of the roadway (Fig. 18). In the context of the southern French countryside, however, Paul Cézanne’s paintings completed in Aix-en-Provence, which have the Bibémus quarry as an integrating foreground element, come to mind. In *Mont Sainte-Victoire* (ca. 1898–1900; Baltimore Museum of Art), Cézanne knits together near and far, vegetation and rockface, through his characteristic brushstrokes and color harmonies of green and ochre. What seems important to him is the strong sense of three-dimensional solidity that emerges from the flickering textures of the painterly surface. By contrast, Lassus worked simultaneously on two registers. For motorists, he offers a remarkable cavalcade of picturesque rocks, with newly sculpted formations blending undetectably into the panorama of constructed landscape. If the traveler then decides to explore the *aire*, there is revealed, on the far side of the rocks, a deep gully gouged out of the quarry workings as a result of continued neglect and erosion (Fig. 19). In the latter, the lavish excrescences of flora, in particular the rare scolopendrium ferns, create a dense environment where the measured step must be the rule, in striking contrast to the law of the nearby speeding tracks that exist out of sight (Fig. 20).

In these viridian areas, displaced from all obvious linear articulation, the path curves round upon itself. Its depths can be glimpsed from formal and informal viewing locations on the upper level, so that even the most time-pressed motorist can pause to experience the diffused light and compacted space of the natural realm, regardless of its accessibility. In a comparable way, Lassus amplified the imaginary space of the private corporate dining room that he designed for the president of Renault in 1967. Artificial light illuminates its limpid white panels, which break open to reveal a plethora of exotic plants.¹⁹ At Crazannes, however, the spatial dimension is public. The scale of the work suggests that this may be a prototype for a new kind of intervention in the domain of landscape that revives the

¹⁹ For plan, photograph, and discussion of this early work, also called by Lassus *Ambiance 14* (1967), see my *Experimental Painting* (London: Studio Vista, 1970), 51–52 and pl. 30.



18. *Land Art installation, Crazannes (photo: courtesy of the artist)*

message of great landscape gardens of the past. The private garden has yielded to the public park as the locus of landscape experimentation over the past two centuries. The private garden is then recuperated in its turn when it becomes a place for city dwellers to congregate, as at Sissinghurst or Giverny.

But Lassus's *aires* at Nîmes-Caissargues and Crazannes suggest that a new initiative in landscape planning can encounter the motorist en route.²⁰ The space of the rest area can become an arena of different messages, all appropriate to the liminal nature of such a polymorphous zone. Lassus's subsequent sequence of *aires* on a newer highway south of Nantes suggests that the individual area need not be an end in itself. A whole sequence of such spaces can be planned and integrated both with the character of the countryside abutting the road and with the cultural associations of each specific zone or region. The relevance of this developing practice to the theme of the experience of motion is not difficult to assess. For example, Anette Freytag's chapter in this volume shows how the railway created the possibility of rapid interchange between city and country and led to the development of a new landscape aesthetic in public gardens in the mid-nineteenth century.

Our own contemporary experience of motion encompasses an even greater range of possible ratios between different modes of travel than that of previous generations. Lassus's thoughts at one point turned to the picturesque aesthetic of William Gilpin, who flew over Alaska in a small plane and then drew illustrations of his trip. He made a photographic work juxtaposing his and Gilpin's aerial views, revealing his awareness of the problems posed to classical and romantic concepts of nature by this extraordinary multiplication of

²⁰ On Nîmes-Caissargues, see Lassus, *Landscape Approach*, 164–67.

19–20. *Views of Crazannes*
(photos: courtesy of Simon
Hodgkinson)



19. *Quarry works*



20. *Invitation to the walk*

the modes of transport.²¹ But Lassus's solution does not call for giving in to the threat of disorientation induced by the experience of high speeds and depersonalized technology. Rather, in such circumstances we must plant our feet on the ground.

That the landscape is formed through walking, and no longer only through the fixity of belvederes and viewpoints (that is, walking as link, as underlying continuity, forms landscape), implies for the art of the gardens an interrogation that I have constantly taken up again in the course of my different projects. . . . The garden path is obviously related to walking, to the temporal scale, to the sensations felt by the foot: ascents, descents, obstacles, mountain tracks, roughness or softness of materials, fluidity or firmness of their foundations, variability of ground according to atmospheric and seasonal changes.²²

Lassus's Normandy home comprises an ancient wood where he has been plotting infinitely gradual changes over the years. The movement of snails following an inscrutable protocol from one part of the wood to another becomes one aspect of a series of almost imperceptible movements that seem unrelated. Only in retrospect, with the aid of memory, do such changes appear coordinated and significant. One lesson of this experience is the point that the ratios of movement within our environment must be understood at the level of the virtually imperceptible as well as the brutally rapid. In the long term, this may also be an argument for the view that gardens, which appear to sit lightly with history, should be seen as privileged locations for complex interconnections with the past. In this respect the invocation of historical examples, such as the concept of the landscape artist as pedestrian at the turn of the seventeenth century, help confirm our contemporary impressions of what it means to "sense the stones."

²¹ See Lassus, *Landscape Approach*, 82: "That work reveals a fragmented Alaska where each view, each perception, remains independent and also at the same time participates, precisely through what it proposes, in a vaster entity, an Alaska present in its very dispersal, a landscape that exceeds and includes at the same time the picturesque landscape invented by Gilpin."

²² Ibid.

Beyond Choreography: Shifting Experiences in Uncivilized Gardens

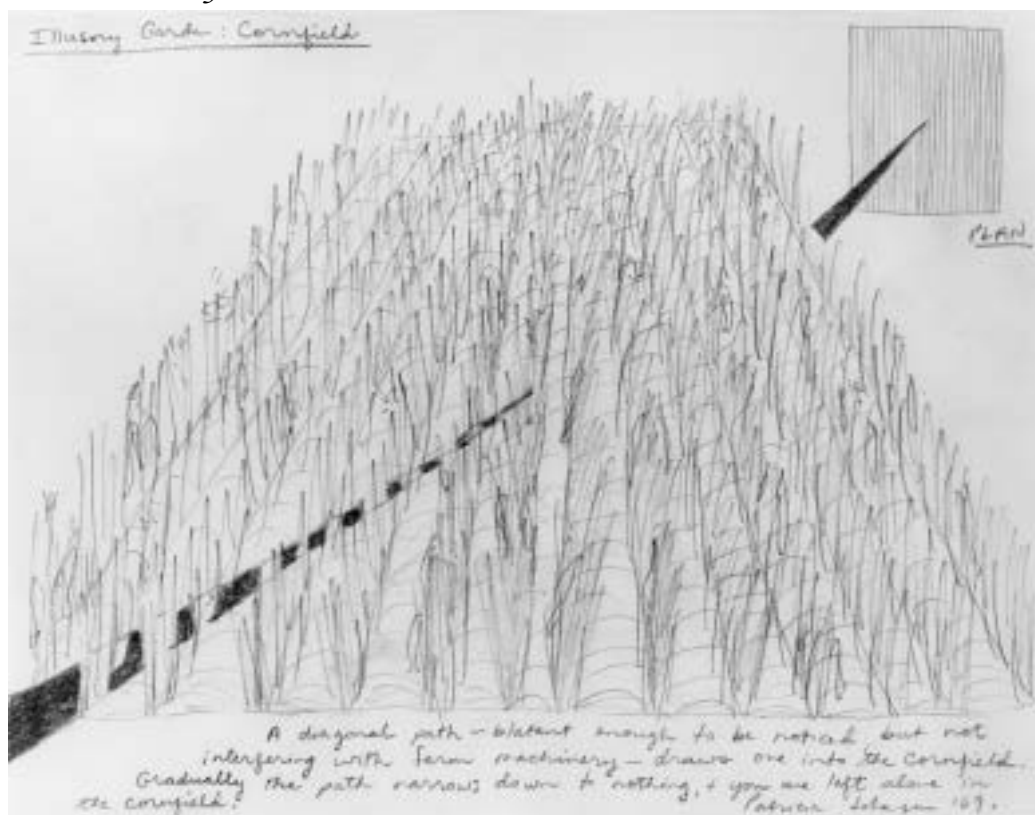
Patricia Johanson

Gardens are choreographed with paths that establish a pattern of movement through space much like dance notation. While others have described my sculptures as “paths,” with the implication that an “ideal” series of tableaux or experiences will unfold in time and space, this is not the case. What attracts me are complex landscapes that have a life of their own. Their designed structures are meant to lure visitors, frame the flow of nature, and bring them into contact with the profuse phenomena of the natural world. The most important aspect of my landscapes and the key to their success lie in the parts I do *not* design. Photographs focus on objects, but the real content of a landscape is everything nature has to offer. I want visitors to consider the minutiae of nature, as well as the grand sweep of the intricate network of living relationships, which includes themselves.

So my role is to entice visitors into gardens that have their own integrity and agenda. I have caught public attention either through monumental, strange, bright, and overstated configurations, as in *Fair Park Lagoon* and the *Endangered Garden*, or through more mundane but unexpected out-of-context constructions like *Cyrus Field*. Both strategies appeal to human curiosity, the sense of adventure, and the need to explore. But once visitors take their first steps into my gardens, there is a physical pause, and the dialogue becomes internal. The ages, interests, individual circumstances of each visitor, and the wealth of information available to each of them, may dictate their particular choices and interpretations, but all who visit emerge with a direct, personal experience of nature.

Early Patterns

In 1969 I designed a series of gardens for *House and Garden*, although none was built. These early drawings feature living systems as the garden’s chief actor, often with purported paths as “bait.” In one of them, *Illusory Garden: Cornfield*, a blatant path draws “visitors” into an ordinary, unexplored agricultural landscape (Fig. 1). Diagonally, the path cuts across the natural rows, growing narrower until it disappears in the middle of a cornfield. “Abandoning” my visitors, I leave them to contemplate the spiky power of the stalks, the graceful beauty of the leaves, perhaps with sunlight streaming through, and the sights and sounds of small animals, birds, and insects as they climb the vegetation, gathering food and

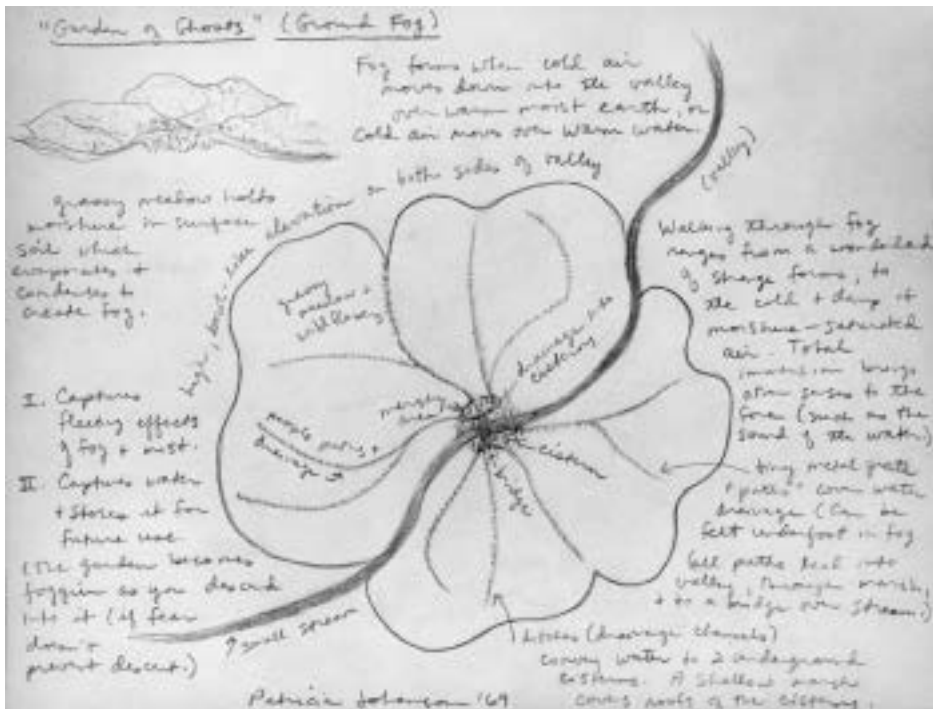


1. Illusory Garden: Cornfield, pencil and conté crayon on paper, 1969

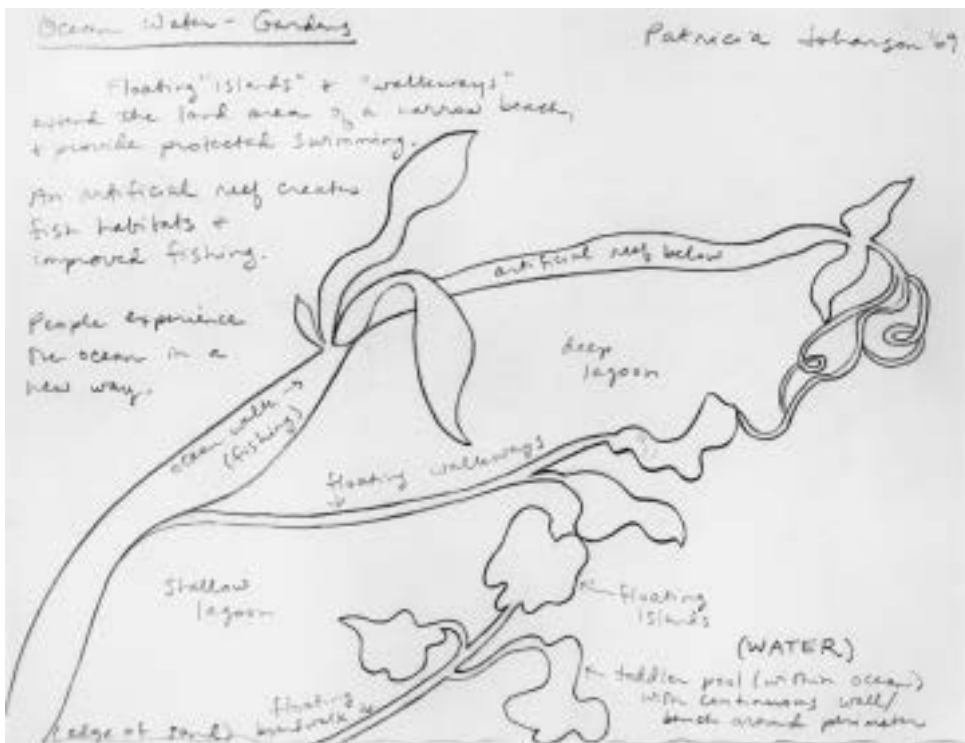
building tiny “cities.” Engulfed by a rustling sea of green or yellow and only the sky overhead, they have only their own observations and innermost thoughts. Eventually they will discover the many natural paths in and out of the garden.

Garden of Ghosts (Ground Fog) is an ordinary landscape with grassy meadows and bowl-shaped valley topography, both of which are conducive to the formation of ground fog (Fig. 2). The paths are tiny metal grates placed over natural drainage channels. During lapses of visibility they provide orientation to the topography underfoot by distinguishing hard metal from spongy vegetation, but they are not meant to be followed religiously. Mysterious unfamiliar shapes, the loss of perceivable spatial relations, and the sense of changing topography require an “act of faith” because no one can see what is there. Moving through fog presents a wonderland of strange, shrouded forms that stimulate the imagination. Total immersion requires intuition and caution and brings out other senses; the content of the garden becomes the cold damp feeling of moisture-saturated air, the trickling sounds of water, the rustlings and cries of unseen creatures, or even the fear that accompanies loss of control.

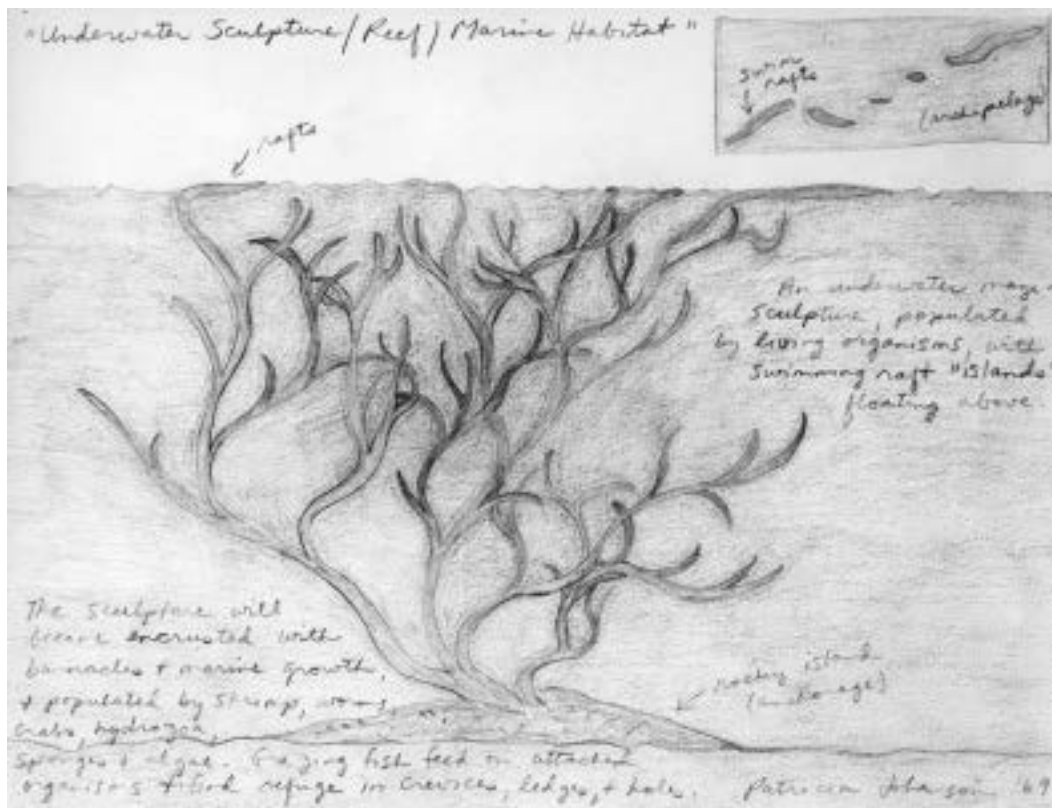
Ocean Water Gardens is pathlike, and the floating walkways and islands extend the public recreational area of a narrow beach by providing various levels of protected swim-



2. Garden of Ghosts (Ground Fog), pencil and colored pencil on paper, 1969



3. Ocean Water Gardens, pencil on paper, 1969



4. Underwater Sculpture/Reef/Marine Habitat, pencil and colored pencil on paper, 1969

ming and ocean walks (Fig. 3). The form of the plant, with its stem, leaves, and tendrils, encompasses the additional park space and creates its own rhythm of swelling and attenuated promenades, natural stopping points, directional choices, and cul-de-sacs. These heaving, swaying paths over water—"living and unstable"—bring people far out into the ocean, isolating them within a powerful realm that is visually monolithic, yet alive and unpredictable. Floating walkways transmit the rhythmic beat, gentle surge, or even violence of the water underfoot, and within the deepest lagoon swimmers can encounter fish and other ocean creatures that are attracted by the structure's underwater reefs.

A related project, *Underwater Sculpture/Reef/Marine Habitat*, is an extreme example of my ideal pattern of movement where swimming is the required form of locomotion (Fig. 4). Many gardens presuppose a linear exploration of space and a development of events in time, but more contemporary designs emulate the "web of life," where matter is cycling continuously and every molecule is improvising moment by moment in order to synchronize with the whole. This little garden, with its encrusted surfaces, microorganisms, flow-through systems, and infinite number of entry and exit points, suggests designed landscapes that are based on natural relatedness, self-organization, and ecological systems rather than prescribed intentions and access routes.

Cyrus Field

My early large-scale paintings and sculptures explored relationships among physical form and the altered perceptions of viewers as they moved through space and the fluctuations of natural color and light. In 1970, I began to explore my aesthetic theories within a larger landscape that came to be known as *Cyrus Field*. Located in Buskirk, in Rensselaer County, N.Y., near Saratoga Springs and the Massachusetts line, *Cyrus Field* organized and humanized three distinctly different forest ecologies by means of a continuous line of varying materials.¹ Each material was aesthetically related to the color and texture of its surroundings and created a pattern interwoven with the existing landscape. Marble was juxtaposed with white birch trees; redwood was camouflaged against a carpet of red needles within an almost impenetrable pine forest; and flowing configurations of cement block undulated over hilly topography between mixed deciduous trees (Figs. 5–8). This is not a public site, but many visitors have seen it over the years. They range from hunters and farmers to sophisticated artists and writers, and many have returned either with their children or groups of high school or college students.

Usually I escort visitors into the woods and then leave them to explore on their own. After an hour of “wandering,” their responses have ranged from pleasure to panic. Many ask to stay longer, but a friend of mine who is a famous photographer became almost hysterical. Many have confessed that “they found it difficult to stay on the path.” There are *no* paths, but I let my visitors find this out on their own. School groups never stay together. The students go off alone or in pairs, perhaps because they intuitively understand that nature’s details are not seen to best advantage en masse. They find something of interest even before I depart—a moss, a bird, a snake—but they also want me to tell them “where to go and what to see.” In the end, they always discover *Cyrus Field* for themselves, and their student papers invariably mention their “sense of exploration, not knowing what is around the bend, [and the] textures, sounds, and aromas of nature [such as the] roughness of bark, crunch of dry leaves, [and] smell of decomposing tree stumps.” One young woman described the sounds of her shoes on marble, redwood, and pine needles, which “made her very aware of her body in the woods.” This is an anthropocentric version of the universal comment on what is “heard and felt through the feet.”

However, my favorite observation comes from Eleanor Munro, who visited while doing research for a book.² When I returned for her, she asked if I had read fairy tales as a child. These stories, with their magical landscapes, bread crumb trails, and wondrous encounters with good and evil, had been at the center of my childhood but were not something I consciously remembered. It was a remarkable insight for Munro to experience the project like a wandering child. While she did not stumble upon a gingerbread house or a

¹ *Cyrus Field* was built with a fellowship grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

² See Munro, *Originals: American Women Artists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 462–68, 485, 486.



5-11. *Views of Cyrus Field, a private retreat, or contemplative garden, in Buskirk, Rensselaer County, N.Y., the site of the author's first large-scale natural landscape design, ca. 1970*

5. *(left) A marble "path" juxtaposed with white birch trees*



6. *A redwood camouflaged against a carpet of red needles within an almost impenetrable pine forest*



7–8. (above) Two views of flowing configurations of cement block undulating over hilly topography between mixed deciduous trees (photo: Michael Marton)



9. *A slithering garter snake*
(photo: Gerrit H. Goossen)

witch in the forest, she understood that we are left to our own devices within a landscape that has a life of its own.

It is also accurate that she described me as one of “Humboldt’s daughters,” in reference to the nineteenth-century explorer, naturalist, and philosopher Alexander von Humboldt.³ I have always been interested in gardens that encompass the whole world, and I aim at matrix, networks, relationships, context, and transformations. The model is the flow of energy and materials at the molecular level—from soil and air, through plants, animals, and bacteria, and back again, with the materials transformed so as to be useful in each new system of organization. The motion of the universe—seasons, weather, cycles of life and death—is the *true* subject of *Cyrus Field*, but its visitors’ random movements ensure a wealth of connections that extend beyond my original intentions. A garden of transient details is unpredictable, sensual, and evocative; these details in motion—the flutter of a bird or the rustle of a snake—bypass intellect and elicit emotions (Fig. 9).⁴ Movement within the landscape triggers primal connections in the brain dealing with food, reproduction, and survival. Whether we flee or investigate, these moments of heightened awareness demand a physical response.

Cyrus Field has no paths, views, goals, or arrival points, only personal discoveries that

³ Munro, *Originals*, 486, note 33.

⁴ See my “Architecture as Landscape,” *Princeton Journal: Thematic Studies in Architecture* 2 (1985): 110–13.



10. A deer track



11. Over a period of years, miniature landscapes of mosses and lichens have evolved, altering what visitors see.

are frequently unrelated to the formal design. Visitors make their way through the landscape however they choose; many linger for hours and ask to return repeatedly. Most can describe their movement through the landscape as they walk through the woods for awhile and then find a preferred spot; they conclude with details of their observations and investigations. Initially, many notice the aesthetic devices, such as the white grid created by the vertical birch trees and the horizontal lines of white marble that echo the topography. Most also notice shadows of specific trees on the marble, imprints of decaying leaves, moving shadows that capture the wind, tracks of insects and animals, the animals themselves, and microhabitats created by small pools of water that form within sculptures (Fig. 10).

Because the garden is not maintained, it has no ideal state. Tiny landscapes of mosses and lichens have evolved on the sculptures, transforming them into miniature worlds that reflect their surroundings (Fig. 11). Over the past thirty years, human movement through the forest has become increasingly difficult. The ground is littered with the debris of past generations; fallen trees sometimes make passage impossible; and being poked in the eye with a jagged branch is not unusual, especially in the pine forest where a maze of dead branches creates visual complexity and a moral dilemma: Should nature conform to human accessibility and convenience? Both *Cyrus Field* and the surrounding forest have continued to “evolve”—deteriorate, according to some—but I am interested in landscapes that can continue creatively along their own paths much like children.⁵ For me, *Cyrus Field* is a contemplative garden with an infinite number of physical and mental entry points. Despite an initial perception of ecological “paths” and territory to be explored, most visitors come to understand that silence, stillness, and dwelling within the place are the best ways to intuit its landscape.

Fair Park Lagoon

In 1981 Harry Parker, director of the Dallas Museum of Art, invited me to undertake an exciting project. He had seen my drawings in a New York gallery and inquired if something could be done with Dallas’s “old mud hole,” despite the lack of a program, a budget, or any community interest. His mandate was simple: “Just do what you think needs to be done.”

My design for *Fair Park Lagoon* re-created a freshwater swamp in the middle of the city’s largest public park (Fig. 12). The project was designed as a functional flood basin as well as a home to plants and animals, including snails, clams, freshwater sponges and shrimp, fish, reptiles, waterfowl, birds, and insects: all “decorative” members of the food chain. Landscaping was conceived of as “food.” The sculpture became more than an aesthetic

⁵ I explore this subject in depth in “Designing beyond the Visual: Life, Death, and Trade-offs in the Garden of Art,” *College Art Association Abstracts 2000* (New York, 2000), 255. This text is available on “Building a Body of Architecture: Design on an Organic Model,” *Audio Archives Tape 200223-190A* (La Crescenta, Calif., 2000).



12. Aerial view (photo: William Pankey)

12–17. Views of Fair Park Lagoon, Dallas, constructed 1981–86, of gunite “paths,” with natural plants and living species, from the city’s “old mud hole”



13. Overhead view of *Sagittaria platyphylla*, the delta duck potato that becomes a “path” for visitors and a perch for birds

endeavor; it was a means of bringing people into contact with plants, animals, and water in both shoreline and aquatic habitats.

Paths, bridges, islands, overlooks, and seating were incorporated into two monumental works (Fig. 13) designed to create “housing” for the animals, delineating refuges and microhabitats, places to sunbathe and spawn, and protected islands and perches (Fig. 14). I considered every aspect of the design from a multitude of perspectives. For example, I chose native emergent vegetation, or rooted plants that grow at varying depths of shallow water, because they not only provide food and habitat for wildlife but also help control bank erosion and improve water quality by reducing turbidity.

Pteris multifida, a multispan arch bridge based on a Texas fern, creates its own landscape of arches, causeways, and islands, while cutout shapes between the leaflets form smaller-scale landscapes—flower basins and fishponds, with specific microhabitats designed as “living exhibits” for the Dallas Museum of Natural History (Fig. 15). Another sculpture at the opposite end of the lagoon, the delta duck potato, *Sagittaria platyphylla*, features a mass of twisted roots built as five-foot-wide paths over water, with thinner “stems” rising above the water as perches for birds. Floating “leaves” further out in the lagoon become islands for animals, while others along the shore form step-seating and overlooks. As at *Cyrus Field*, the designed elements attract visitors initially, but some aspect of nature captures their imagination, and a personal connection or satisfaction causes them to return again and again.

Jacqueline Zazoni de los Santos, after months at *Fair Park Lagoon* observing how its visitors interact with the landscape, writes:

People who have grown up with works like ‘Leonhardt Lagoon’ talk of coming often, of walking the paths over and over again, exploring the day to day and season to season changes. Like a ritualistic maze . . . these paths, which lead from our outside technological and commercial world into the realities of the living biological world through a series of microhabitats, present an opportunity for connecting intuitively with our past.⁶

She describes how visitors enter the bowl-shaped site and encounter one of the “focused zones of space.”

Viewed from a distance, the lagoon appears like an oasis, luring the viewer closer. The sculptural pathways nestle in two groups at either end of the lagoon and are firmly anchored to the shore. Dividing the pathways into two smaller clusters avoids the formulation of a massive complex, which might be overwhelming, and keeps them instead on a human scale. We have a clear idea of the borders. Though the paths are tangled and some end by sinking into the water, we can see that the extensions are never more than twenty or so paces away from the shore. Psycho-

⁶ De los Santos, “Tracing the Experiential Path: Large Scale Sculpture by Patricia Johanson” (master’s thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1997), 12–13.



14. *Paths and microhabitats* (photo: William Pankey)



15. *Pteris multifida, a bridge inspired by a Texas fern* (photo: William Pankey)



16. *Visitors investigating ecosystems (photo: Elizabeth Duvert)*

logically the feeling of risk of walking out onto water has been kept at a minimum. (Actual risks are kept at a minimum by making the paths comfortably wide with a good grip and putting them in shallow areas of the lagoon.) In addition, the curvilinear forms themselves have a soothing effect.⁷

De los Santos is right. The unusual organic forms and vibrant terra-cotta color of the paths are visible from a great distance, especially against the bright green plants. First-time adult visitors usually quicken their pace, while children run over to the edge of the lagoon and are out over the water before an adult can stop them. The design may be too flashy for some tastes, but it arouses curiosity and performs its function of drawing visitors into a confrontation with nature. Over the water, the sculpture disappears from underfoot, and visitors shift their focus to a dragonfly, fairy shrimp, spawning fish, or water lily (Fig. 16). The sculptural, curvilinear forms at varying gradients and heights like a highway ramp force pedestrians to watch their step, making them more attentive to their surroundings. Initially the sense that these are illogical, unpredictable forms, and even dangerous configurations, causes a constant referencing of the body to the landscape and greater mental alertness lest a threat appear. Regular visitors, on the other hand, know this as a benign landscape and come seeking solace from the pressures of urban life. De los Santos describes the paths:

The plant-like forms at times become tangled, but mostly they meander along, sometimes folding back on themselves, and sometimes extending into graceful, lazy sweeps. Viewers can choose which path and which pace suits them (just as

⁷ Ibid., 24–25.



17. *A solitary child pausing in contemplation*

animals, birds, turtles, and fish choose favorite spots or pools). Each stretch, each curve carries its own rhythm and its own discoveries. . . . Children tend to use the paths as a playground. As they run or walk the pathways they often pause on the bridges, using them as viewing platforms to look over the whole lagoon. Or they crouch on the water-hugging paths to look down into the water at the life within. Beachcombers, or those who have spent time bending down in the woods to study some small new mossy form, will already know the sense of becoming so enveloped in a natural setting that for that moment this little world is all that exists. Johanson's works draw our bodies and lure our senses into experiencing nature in this primal way.⁸

De los Santos is alluding to magnitude of choices, niches, and individual human territories within this seemingly unified design; without impinging on one other, one group of visitors can be active, perhaps running and jumping from one level to another, another socially engaged, and still another rapt in solitary contemplation. If a segment of the walkway is occupied, it is easy to find another interesting route; something is always happening somewhere. *Fair Park Lagoon* offers godlike overviews as well as opportunities for immersion in natural ecosystems, but the key experience is the pause (Fig. 17). Everyone lingers, often at length, and everyone seems to discover something different. Walter R. Davis II, director of the Dallas Museum of Natural History, notes:

The sounds, smells, colors and textures of an aquatic environment blend seamlessly

⁸ Ibid., 23, 25, 26.

with visual and tactile elements. . . . It is a work rich in implications, and viewers seem to carry away differing conclusions about what they saw and what it means.⁹

Because the structures are based on actual plants, pedestrians along the paths can follow the same curves and rhythms as the biological forms, repeating the pattern of the plants. This formal correspondence with biological structures provides an underlying order experienced first through the senses and the feet, and only later through the intellect. On the other hand, they are free to discover their own unique rhythms each time they negotiate this transition between land and water.

Time and movement reveal the richness of the site, and the ideal time span for a visit should be long. It should incorporate the fluctuating water levels and the lifecycles that keep on altering the appearance of the lagoon, as well as the changing experiences and perspectives of its visitors. Newcomers may perceive the park as a linear progression of events, but for regular visitors the experience is more like opening nested dolls. Children, tourists, and first-time visitors run up and down the bridges and all over the sculpture, but repeat visitors know which places interest them and understand that exploration and discovery can occur in moments of quiet stasis. Notably, when the rest of the park is empty, pedestrians are still on the paths. De los Santos observes:

I recently had the opportunity to visit 'Leonhardt Lagoon' on a gray winter day. Though the fairgrounds are at the heart of a bustling community, they themselves seemed empty. So I was surprised to find people concentrated on the pathways of the [l]agoon. Throughout the winter afternoon, visitors, both amphibious and human, continually appeared. Some paused to watch, others meandered down the paths.¹⁰

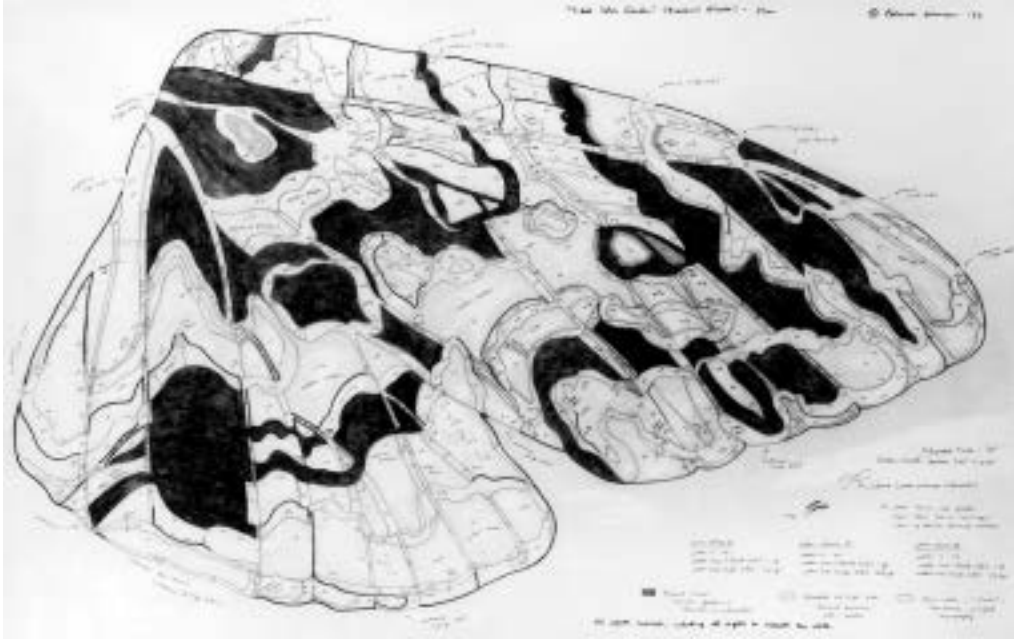
Why do visitors return to this familiar place again and again? Its appeal lies in the living landscape and the details within the overall framework, which keep changing. The landscape can be as undemanding or as intellectually and physically challenging as visitors wish, yet it is filled with all the information and conditions that allow it to prosper, evolve, and survive. Visitors become creative participants in the process, and most discover a vision of the design intelligence of nature of which they are a part.

Living Landscapes

I always draw projects I want to build, and I exhibit these drawings in art galleries with the hope of stimulating interest in less "genteel," controllable gardens. Within the natural landscape, patterns of form and movement can change suddenly. Rivers become impassible; mudslides rearrange topography; flash floods wipe away paths within steep-walled canyons. "Mutable" gardens are designed public landscapes, usually urban, which are based on the

⁹ Davis, personal communication, 24 Jan. 1992.

¹⁰ De los Santos, "Experiential Path," 22, note 23.



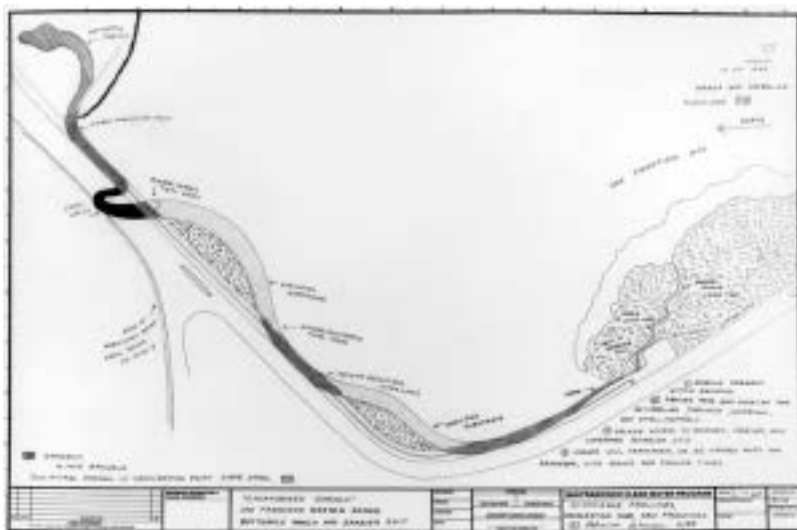
18. Tidal Color Garden (*Arachnis dilecta*), ink and charcoal on vellum, 1982

kind of overlapping, discontinuous, shifting patterns in nature. Because their topography is in flux, routes that were obvious to visitors when entered may become unavailable. This forces a constant reconsideration of forms and patterns, as they relate to the visitors' movement. Such dynamic landscapes require coordination between the landscape and its viewers, forcing them to examine their personal circumstances at a given moment in a particular place. Such devices are central to developing the level of awareness and attention needed to move away from an anthropocentric view toward a consideration of nature, both in its grand sweep and in microcosm, prompting us to reflect on where humans fit.

Tidal Color Garden (1982), which was based on the butterfly *Arachnis dilecta*, is an urban landscape inspired by Claude Monet's Haystack series (Fig. 18). Its overall dimensions are measured in city blocks, and the tiny black veins on the butterfly's lower wing are walkable arch bridges. The garden is both topographical and sculptural, so that spatial relations combined with color produce ever-changing "painted compositions," as visitors walk through the landscape. At low tide, the color scheme is earth tone, but the entire land area is available only for about thirty minutes twice a day. As water begins to flow into the garden at four points along the edge, "stairways" become waterfalls; sunken gardens become pools; ridges become causeways; and the color scheme darkens.

Visitors are attracted to the sounds of splashing water and visual transformations as, for example, paths became rivulets; they also understand the need to move to higher ground. As water continues to rise, the garden becomes a pattern of bridges, causeways, and chains of islands accessible only along increasingly circuitous routes. At high tide, most of the garden is submerged, which perhaps encourages more social interaction among the remaining visitors. Then as the water recedes, the landscape grows progressively brighter as

19–26. Views of
Endangered Garden,
Candlestick Cove,
San Francisco Bay,
1987–99,
simultaneously the site
of a sewage facility for
a major metropolitan
area and a respite
from a busy urban
environment



19. Site plan, ink and charcoal on vellum, 1988

more colors and routes are revealed. Both the structure and drama of the garden depend on the shifting balance between the circulation of the visitors and the circulation of the water. Like Fair Park Lagoon, these continually changing cycles occur within a prescribed framework and foster a sense of the continuity, ensuring that attention, both mental and physical, is paid to this landscape in motion.

Endangered Garden

In 1987 the San Francisco Art Commission asked me to co-design a large project and create a landscape that engineers, permitting agencies, and the general public could embrace. The city was planning a new pump station and sewage holding tank along San Francisco Bay, and the Department of Public Works' initial design had been rejected by public agencies and community groups. Meanwhile, the Environmental Protection Agency was about to sue the city for dumping raw sewage into the bay. The site for *Endangered Garden*, wedged between the major coastal Highway 101 and the shoreline of San Francisco Bay, is the roof of a \$30 million municipal sewer.

My intention was to present the sewer facility as a work of art and as an extension of the adjoining state park, while increasing food and habitat for wildlife and providing maximum access to San Francisco Bay (Fig. 19). The problem was how to draw the general public into an intimate dialogue with nature, despite a concrete sidewalk, thirty feet wide and one-third of a mile long. Regulatory agencies prohibited further "fill" in the bay, so the form of both sewer and artwork needed to conform to a narrow strip of shoreline around Candlestick Cove. In addition, the available site was landfill, requiring remedial work to restore the legendary life-giving landscape of San Francisco Bay with its famous marshes, intertidal mudflats, longshore barrier spits, and grassy hillsides.



20. *Birds feeding on the mudflats at low tide, with Highway 101 and San Bruno Mountain in the background*

In San Francisco, where the loss of species is visible and imminent, my goal was to provide cover for small mammals like the endangered salt marsh harvest mouse and larval food plants for endangered and rare butterflies like the bay region's checkerspot and the pygmy blue, which is California's smallest butterfly.¹¹ The image for the project became the endangered San Francisco garter snake, whose attenuated shape echoes the transport-storage sewer and whose bright colors and varying patterns—stripe, scale, ventral plate, and “chains of mountains”—form the structural basis for individual gardens within the overall plan. Because the “snake” is so large, it is visible in its entirety only from several high points adjoining the site or from the air. It is purposely directional and discontinuous, moving on and off the baywalk and “twisting its body” to shift patterns in order to create special stopping points, establish different rhythms, and focus attention on the life of the bay within this unwaveringly linear trail.

One further design consideration was the vastness of the surrounding landforms and the difficulty of focusing attention on natural relationships, given the scenic and seductive dominance of mountains and bay. This is a place where humans feel small (Fig. 20). The mountains of the coast range and the east bay frame a seemingly endless expanse of water; ships that seem huge when docked appear as tiny dots on the horizon, advancing or receding at a glacial pace. Few landmarks are visible from the baywalk, and even the eight lanes

¹¹ The original 1988 proposal for *Endangered Garden* is reprinted in *Patricia Johanson: Public Landscapes* (Philadelphia: Painted Bride Art Center, 14 Feb.–17 March 1991). The San Francisco Arts Commission commissioned this project for the Sunnydale pump station.



21. *Butterfly meadow picnic area and the earthmound, partially obscured head of the San Francisco Garter Snake*

of traffic along Highway 101 look like ants crawling silently uphill. Pedestrians can go a considerable distance and not be measurably closer to the hazy pastel mountains or significantly alter their relationship to sea and sky.

The *San Francisco Garter Snake* mediates between human scale and the monolithic landforms that surround the site. Its head and neck, located in Candlestick Point State Recreation Area, were designed as twenty-foot-high earthmounds that echo both San Bruno Mountain to the west and the terminal recurve of the longshore barrier spit at the opposite end of the baywalk. This miniature “mountain range” creates windbreaks, sunning platforms, and shelter from predators for endangered butterflies. It is set within a planted meadow that provides nectar for the butterflies and specific host plants for their larvae. Mothers romp with their children here, and many visitors take notice of the butterflies, caterpillars, and other insects on the flowering plants (Fig. 21). Because it provides respite from the strong winds that funnel in from the Pacific Ocean through the Allemany Gap in the coast range, the meadow has become a popular picnic area. Surprisingly, a number of visitors to the meadow remark on the tiny “mountain range” of the snake’s head, which aligns itself with San Bruno Mountain in the distance. These observers, like Youth in Action members who help maintain the site, are largely unschooled in aesthetics. Environmental messages are more powerful when observers form their own conclusions without depending on prescribed paths and interpretive signage; many manage to see the visual connections that link microcosm and macrocosm. Again, the bright colors and quirky



22. *Baywalk and Ribbon Worm path to the intertidal habitat*

design draw them, but the minutiae of the bay, the shifting details within a known framework, and the unity of the landscape resonate with the visitors and cause them to return.

Designed as a viewing platform for the life of the bay, the transport-storage sewer/baywalk echoes the natural curve of the cove (Fig. 22). Walkers, joggers, cyclists, and skateboarders use this section of the Bay Circuit Trail everyday, and while there, they stop to observe the birds and waterfowl feeding in the marsh and mudflats below. During the migrations, thousands of birds are at Candlestick Cove, alongside the daily drama of rising and falling tides and the interplay between those eating and those being eaten. Even casual observers notice the horizontal sorting of species feeding at different water depths. Lines of birds of varying colors and textures advance and recede like chorus girls, as the water approaches the baywalk and then departs, revealing the mudflats. Many visitors become so immersed in the daily “performance” that they lunch here regularly; some even remain for an entire afternoon.

The coiled tail section of the sculpture leads to a high point that serves as a “box seat” for the action on the “stage” of the bay below (Fig. 23). This erratic sculptural projection is often a gathering point for school groups. Others eat here, and it is a good place for solitary visitors to look out over the water. When viewed from the south or west, the coiled tail resembles the stepped terracing of Bayview Hill, which rises behind it, echoing a dominant surrounding landform. It provides the grand ascendant overview, encompassing the sweep of the landscape, while its descending terraced counterpart, the *Ribbon Worm*, steps down



23. The popular “coiled tail” overlook

for a more intimate experience of life along the shore (Fig. 24). This sculptural staircase can be negotiated either as a continuous ramp, by traversing the length of the worm’s body or as diagonal steps and step-seating. *Fair Park Lagoon’s* most popular feature, it attracts running and jumping children or individuals or couples sitting and relaxing silently. The *Ribbon Worm* provides a physical transition that separates three distinct levels: the headlands of the butterfly meadow, the baywalk around Candlestick Cove, and the alternately wet or dry floor of the bay.

Several worm loops fill with water, creating habitat pools within the sculpture (Fig. 25). The steps provide access to a small beach and the cove’s continuous but dynamic and shifting boundary where land and water meet. Below the baywalk level, visitors experience the quiet lapping of waves, the shrill cries of birds, and tiny tide pools, often within the crevices of rocks that line the shore. Their bodies are physically close to biologically diverse habitats; many pause to examine the invertebrate populations—small clams, mussels, barnacles, worms, and snails—that appear at low tide and make this area so popular with birds (Fig. 26). Fluctuating water levels, as well as individual tolerances for minutiae and mud, determine the path of travel. Fish and small crabs are visible underwater, and unexpected variations in substrate determine how deeply pedestrians sink. Many visitors examine small bits of rocks, shells, or detritus and then throw them back into the water. The *sculpted* ribbon worm echoes the larger baywalk snake as well as the tiny *living* ribbon worm, *Emplectonema gracile*, found in tangled masses among mussels and barnacles in the lagoon. Similar undulating forms, ripple marks, are formed by underwater currents and are re-



24. Ribbon Worm/Tidal Sculpture, *gunite*



25. A habitat pool in the Ribbon Worm/Tidal Sculpture



26. *Intertidal life of the bay*

peated incessantly underfoot. As Barbara Matilsky notes, “The work fosters an environmental ethic regarding the value of even the smallest living things by making visible the tiniest animals of the bay.”¹² This fusion of form, function, and ecological system that I want visitors to discover and its pervasiveness from microcosm to macrocosm often lie along a mucky path. Such unfolding relationships require individual wanderings, the considered pause, and knowledge acquired over time rather than a specific route.

A televised nature program may provide information, abstract beauty, and drama, but the outcome is visual, intellectual, and inconsequential. When a snake slithers across the screen, viewers need not worry about getting bitten because they do not inhabit its world. Visual images address aesthetics rather than physical and sensory engagement with life-or-death landscapes. Body movement and gardens of unplanned experience turn spectators into participants, ensuring both a creative response and consideration of forces that affect the landscape and their own lives.

Park for the Amazon Rainforest

I am increasingly interested in landscapes that confront us with the world as it exists, rather than those that think only in anthropocentric and aesthetic terms not to our ben-

¹² Matilsky, *Fragile Ecologies: Artists' Interpretations and Solutions* (New York: Rizzoli International, 1992), 56.

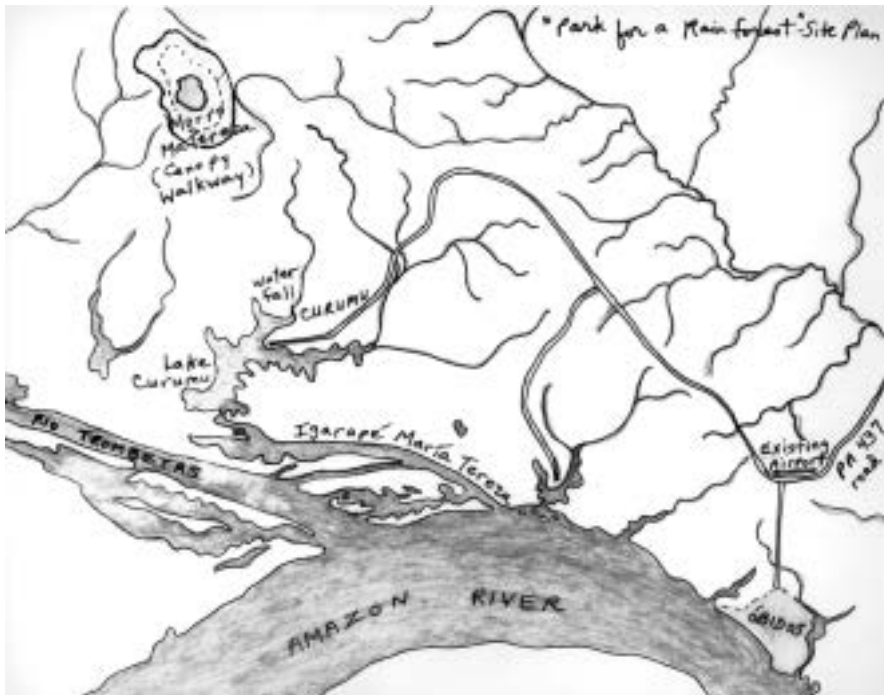
efit.¹³ In 1992 Projeto Omame of Brazil invited me to design a landscape for the Earth Summit as a way of raising awareness of environmental issues (Figs. 27, 28). *Park for the Amazon Rainforest*, a public site, aims at encouraging scientific research and economic renewal, while developing individual inner dialogue with the endless complexities of the real world. This exploration of the Amazon ecosystem begins in the three hundred-year-old city of Obidos and proceeds up the Amazon by boat in the shadow of sixty-foot-high levees from the river's annual flood (Fig. 29). For six months of the year, roads are washed out and watery highways through the forest flood trees to their tops. Fish eat fruit off their submerged branches. Wonders of the Amazon like the Queen Victoria water lily, phalanxes of army ants, and the anaconda seem mythical, but they depend on fragile and tenuous ecosystems.

Most designers prefer to place humans within a controlled setting organized for their benefit and pleasure. Sustainability demands sharing resources and functioning within a system that may not be totally in our favor. The *Park for the Amazon Rainforest* forces us to move through an alien environment and confront our fears. The culminating experience is an exploration of forest stratification by means of a huge organic sculpture interwoven with a vast range of overlapping microhabitats. The plan of the walkways, which rise one hundred and fifty feet above the trees, is based on the leaves, flower stalk, and aerial roots of a bromeliad, *Tillandsia streptocarpa*, found at the site. The design strategy of the plant—a central column surrounded by long, narrow, cantilevered leaves—is translated into slender ramps, seating, and viewing platforms, providing access to every level of the rainforest (Fig. 30). Climbing the canopy walkway to its full height is psychologically and physically exhausting and potentially dangerous, despite the reward of a magnificent view over the mighty river.

This is a garden of details and consequences, requiring careful consideration of where one stops, steps, and puts one's hands. Many visitors are content to explore a solitary niche in detail, while others accept the strenuous challenge to see it all. This is not a stroll garden. I go beyond style, entertainment, and connoisseurship to an earlier period for humankind when physical engagement and an accurate assessment of the landscape were necessary for survival. Moving through the rainforest strata places visitors within the beautiful but unfamiliar world of predatory insects, lianas, orchids, tree snakes, poison frogs, iridescent morpho butterflies, algae-covered sloths, brilliantly colored macaws, aggressive troops of monkeys, and the harpy eagles that eat them. Such gardens require commitment and each movement intense prior scrutiny. As they proceed, visitors are like birds who see the same territory unfold from different vantage points. In the process, they may learn that survival in such a place depends on vigilance and an intuitive understanding of context. They pause to rest but also to take in the information the landscape provides. Uncivilized gardens

¹³ I would never design a dangerous public park; safety is always a primary concern. But people are threatened and impoverished by the relentless conversion of every scrap of territory for their own limited and temporary uses and by public landscapes that have been emasculated by legal departments and maintenance considerations.

27–30. Park for the Amazon Rainforest, near Obidos,
Brazil, on the Amazon River, ca. 1992



27. Site plan, ink and colored pencil on mylar



28. Site model of a design highlighted by a canopy walkway above the rainforest



29. *The flooding forest changes life on the Amazon six months of the year; shown here at Igarape Maria Tereza*



30. *The canopy walkway with flowering Partazana da Terra Firma, Morro Ma Tereza*

require creative negotiation and may engender in humans the same freeze-or-flight mechanisms of lesser species. Our relatively tiny scale, the height of the walkway, and its perceived, though not actual, instability guarantee a carefully considered pace. The *Park for the Amazon Rainforest* encourages visitors to discover the dynamic flow of processes and develop their own dialogue with the endless complexity of the natural world.

Conclusions

Each landscape has its own logic and its own life; nourishing, nurturing gardens are not only subject to growth, change, and transformation but also to the harsh realities of life. The paradox for a garden designer is how to combine the ideal, contrived world of human aesthetics with the equally beautiful, functional, and productive world of living nature.

Both artists and scientists are interested in what lies beneath the surface. The essence of life is not in molecules or objects but rather in the patterns and processes in which they are involved. Nature is continuously in motion in microcosm and macrocosm. Unfortunately the web of life provides a poor visual model because it is nonmaterial and in flux. My solution as a designer is simple. Most of my plans frame intact or recreated ecosystems, appropriating wind, waves, and weather, all the transitory and elusive effects of color, light, seasons, and migratory cycles, and the passions and tragedies of countless plant and animal lives, as well as deeper, more elusive meanings. Thus the ceaseless movements of nature—the patterns and processes of life—become an integral part of the design.

Seemingly arbitrary and erratic garden structures are usually large-scale versions of life forms native to a particular place. Their peculiarity invites exploration, and within a less anthropomorphic setting like a forest, they offer a comforting human presence, luring visitors. The forms are usually discovered to be purposeful, even if not understood. This adds a layer of mystery and impetus for investigation.

Movement through a garden depends on variable and shifting individual circumstances, thus the creativity of both landscape and viewer are incorporated into the design. Uncivilized gardens are shaped by life rather than through maintenance, and visitors' imaginations are animated by the fluctuations of nature. Conscious and subliminal personal connections and formal correspondences resonate in the brain. For example, the topography-hugging sculpture in *Cyrus Field*, the actual snakes so common at the site, and innumerable serpentine rivulets mirror each other at different scales, offering a glimpse of a deeper natural truth.

Physical exploration is the key; uncharted territory is the goal, as visitors move at their own pace, toward their own meaning, within a garden of infinite detail.

Delight and Danger in the Roman Water Garden: Sperlonga and Tivoli

Ann Kuttner

The Romans would have called the theme of this volume *motus* or *motio*. Importantly for gardens, they used these words interchangeably for *desire* and *thought*—Cicero’s two essential *motiones* of the soul.¹ Here *emotion* and *motive* still associate feeling with moving and being moved. Landscape design patterns exterior and natural space for motion, on which are then imposed conscious significance by memory and expectation. *Itinerary* echoes the Roman *itinerarium*: any sequential journey of significant pattern for meaningful ends. Aptly, the stylized rural and leisured life of *otium* in which gardens were used was named as deliberated motion, *secessus* (withdrawal), as were garden corners (*recessus*). Complex Roman spaces highlighted itinerary as the premise of design armature and its sensed aim. Even small rooms and gardens exploited social ritual and decoration to propound itinerary. Viewers were led in habituated sequences through mutually implicated sensory and cognitive experiences. I stress the viewer not simply because motion often is registered by sight. Roman eyes, shooting out rays to grab at the surrounding world, were active. Romans equated seeing with knowing. From representation to shaped spaces, art invited roving eyes to impersonate moving bodies.² Paradoxically, static points most effectively lend significance to motion. The surface of water is featureless: registering its extent as a place for motion

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I have used the following abbreviations: *HN* = *Naturalis Historia*; *LIMC* = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*; *LTUR* = *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*; *PECS* = *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*; *RRC* = *Roman Republican Coinage*; *SHA* = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Hadriani*.

¹ See C. T. Lewis and C. A. Short’s *Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 5 vols. Cicero, *De finibus* 2.10.31: *voluptas* (pleasure) inheres in physical motion.

² Many now explore these visual and verbal themes in landscape, urban armatures, houses, images public and private, and merge discussions of narrative with itinerary. See William MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), who asks how any architectural unit intersects with sight, felt space, and motion generally (see vol. 1). For further bibliog.: on Rome, see Eva Margareta Steinby, ed., *LTUR* (Rome: Quasar, ca. 1993–2000); on other sites, see Richard Stillwell, ed., *PECS* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976); on myths, see *LIMC* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1981–); on coins, see Michael Crawford, ed., *RRC* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1974).

depends on stations marked by static contours and protruding volumes: shores, marble margins, islands, or moated markers. At water gardens, multiple fixed views and viewing stations collaborated with the ambiguities of water motion. Without them itinerary could have no marked departure, arrival, or return.

I explore here Roman associations between water and motion—in the *world* and within the *person*—at two famous sites, Sperlonga and Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli. Their contours and implanted sculpture predicated voyage and immersion in natural waterscapes. Sperlonga, a seaside villa, includes a lagoon grotto and fishpond improved for the first Emperor Augustus, ca. 30 B.C. This condensed Mediterranean and its Odysseus gloss normative enjoyments of this coast, journeys associated with Rome's origin, and Augustus's difficult voyage to power. At Hadrian's inland riverine villa near Tivoli, ca. 130 A.D., the Canopus, a flooded stadium garden and artificial river source cavern, convokes the world rivers feeding the Mediterranean, as if the peripatetic Hadrian had authored both the global environment for his journeys of governance and its cultural geography. Each site embraced that numinous cavern form gnawed out by moving water over time³ and appropriated as “my ocean, our sea (*mare nostrum*),” which distinctively focalized the Greco-Roman world. Each embodied that experience of traveling the navigable rivers or water roads that distinguished Italy and Egypt from most of Greece and Asia.

Though neither site lacks for commentary, scholars have barely considered their character as water gardens for motion: real, metaphorical, visualized, or denoted. This lack of focus in Landscape Studies has impeded full understanding of their sculpture and programs.⁴ New here are simple descriptive stresses: on the visually obvious internal program, which activated and depended upon normative motion; on the depicted situation,

³ The *exemplum* of Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1.326–27, on nature's direction of destruction and genesis over a long duration is aptly how saltwater gnaws out caverns from sea cliffs. Similarly, the proof that nothing is solid is how “in rocks and caves (*speluncae*) the liquid moisture of water pervades, and all the rock weeps swollen droplets” (1.348–49). Such Roman fascinations are manifest in the addition of fake encrustations (as at Sperlonga and Tivoli) to any *nymphaeum* apse or vault in order to evoke age.

⁴ For Sperlonga's Odyssean cycle, we discuss the figure style and composition of individual images, their formal sources, and usually simplistically correlate their subjects to literary texts. Other images and the site need additional work. Recently Christian Kunze dated the sculptures as Augustan by their lagoon masonry: “Zur Datierung des Laokoon und der Skyllagruppe aus Sperlonga,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 111: 139–213, esp. 165 f, 168 note 96 with bibliog. The sculptures are not much discussed in essays on Roman narrative and house programs, usually focused, save for the well-worked Villa dei Papiri, on fresco and mosaic. However, Richard Neudecker encouraged such studies in his magisterial catalogue of garden sculpture, *Die Skulpturenausstattung römischer Villen in Italien* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1988). See index subentries under Sperlonga and Tivoli for detailed image catalogues. Sperlonga's pool is addressed as if one did not move or as if one walked it! “By leaving their banqueting couches, the Sperlonga diners could walk through this landscape and examine the groups individually. But the human and mythological worlds remained separate at Sperlonga, with mortals as observers rather than participants in the action”: Anne Weis, “Sperlonga and Hellenistic Sculpture,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 415. Tivoli Canopus: The images' iconic “situations” are basically ignored. At least for Sperlonga, previous centuries of Italian knowledge of Homeric epic are acknowledged. However, William MacDonald and John Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), discuss the Tivoli subjects as “Greek,” foreign, although some 700 years of Italian art had naturalized subjects like the Amazons.

which emphasized denoted motions toward and from, and on the response to these villas (built to afford daily commerce with the capital) in relation to the period's common knowledge of Rome's visual environment and public values. This last concern transfers to Landscape Studies the models developed for other iconographically charged Roman spaces, built for meaningful itinerary, which modeled ideal *persona* for patron and viewer: decoratively politicized public urban complexes and the pictorial animation of domestic interiors.⁵ Hosting the court through the fourth century A.D., Tivoli and Sperlonga are among the few extant Roman decorated private places to which a well-understood patron known for broad artistic and intellectual interests and systematic public monument programs can be matched. The works of the "good" emperors Augustus and Hadrian launched paradigms to the Roman societies whose preceding tastes they exemplified. Their biographies show that they helped invest with emotion the water worlds they created in order to suggest voyages through danger and for pleasure.

Being Who, Where, When

Seducing us into fictional seas and rivers, these gardens let us impersonate the mariner or inhabitant of immense natural waters, moving *through* that element and being moved *by* it. Alternatively, their panoramic stages let the patron, at home in water, play at governing that element as ocean or river god, a moving *body* of water moving other *bodies*. Luxurious conceits of natural island and water-carved cave manipulated Roman iconographies of trap and refuge, to make delightful play with ideas of danger and release. Conversely, the obtrusive built-up contours of these displays and their technologies for stilling and transporting water invited an optic upon human mastery of nature. City as landfall on a river road was Rome's essence, its highest and oldest priestly office: *pontifex maximus* (bridgemaker). A prow stamped its earliest coinages. These little realms of country leisure mimicked grandiose harbor and aqueduct projects that forced water to sustain the human city. The Romans understood that taming water was a nation-making enterprise, as when they praised the Cloaca Maxima, that great sewer drain, which salvaged the city's heart from the fetid marshland of the original settlement from the earliest days of the Republic. The control and transport of water produced quintessentially beneficial technological wonders to which Republican nobles and emperors proudly gave their names as society's life-bringers.

Roman art staged macrocosm by constructed microcosm, and its pathways proffered

⁵ John Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Bettina Bergmann, "Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995): 79–120. My agendas: prior attempts in *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), s.v. Forum Augustum, Ara Pacis, Pantheon, and Anaglypha Traiani; idem, "Culture and History at Pompey's Museum," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129 (1999): 343–73; idem, "Hellenistic Images of Spectacle, from Alexander to Augustus," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 97–122; idem, "Looking outside Inside: Ancient Roman Garden Rooms," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 1 (1999): 7–35.

imagined journeys in the outer world. Images consistently invited observers to share time and place with what was depicted, even to complete the cast of a depicted story in any role the posited situation might allow. Grander spaces of house and villa are known as *representation rooms* where the viewed and viewing owner asserted a *persona* (literally, actor's mask). A Roman acted throughout the day the imperative roles of society, for leisure and power enacting historically or mythically splendid selves; so too in the open spaces within and around a house's built core.

"If I can see what is pictured to me," a Roman was acculturated to imagine, "where am I and who am I?" The most ordinary Roman, walking a bath hall's ocean mosaic floors or looking up from his soaking pools at frescoes of fish in blue water, joined oceanic divinities as he walked on water and inhabited its depths. In water gardens, definitive bodily sensations further mediated participation in another world by putting him in a firmly contoured, mastered model of the unbounded marine and/or the world rivers' immeasurable extent. Within such fences, water offers multiplicity of experience, not unbounded but still multifarious, that ranges contemporary audiences unused to the protracted pleasures of layered meanings. Romans designed to reward repeated exposure. All high arts of habitation served the different "weathers" of the social and inner person, just as house architecture accommodated the air and light of day and year. Complexly decorated places like these water gardens asserted a range of readings, moods, and tones, various to the point of antithesis and irony. They appealed to Roman tastes, which relished the skidding changes of subject and voice found in Horace's single poems and throughout the poem sequences in his books.

Landscape sensibility is acculturated. The classic instance is the Romantics' transformation of terror to elation in the face of precipitous topography. Acculturated above all is an understanding of the relationship with nature: philosophically, religiously, and historically. Because Roman *natura* was an active, moving agent, shaping the world *could* be felt as an imitative collaboration with *natura*,⁶ not just as an action performed against passive substance. It is not possible to construct *with* water or arrange and plant it like earth. Nevertheless, the Romans redirected water's vital fluids to *natura*, to enable collaboratively every form of life,⁷ just as we now like to arrange water's boundaries and locations.⁸ *Natura naturans*

⁶ Fundamental is Nicholas Purcell, "Town in Country and Country in Town," in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), 185–203; on benevolent collaboration, see Mary Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); on Stoic vitalism, see Thomas Rosenmeyer, "Seneca and Nature," *Arethusa* 33 (2000): 103 ff.: The ruler within us, our tool for good, *natura*, balances the world (Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales* 3.10.3), implying that the political order also imitates *natura*. Pythagoreanism naturally linked soul, world, and action in a system of harmonies. Roman Epicurean philosophy in the abstract may not have preached vitalism, but practice and articulation did.

⁷ For bibliog. on ideological landscapes of production, see my "Culture and History," 9–11, 29–30.

⁸ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.1–88: The genesis ordered by "Deus—et melior . . . Natura" (21), shapes the waters to make the lands (36–42); man is shaped from water and earth (82), the first work of art, *effigies*, by the artist of all things, so that crude earth now makes stories with the *figurae* of human beings—a model for animating landscape with sculpture.

builds watered grotto palaces, which we claim and replicate.⁹ We too populate any miniature *orbis terrarum* (globe of the lands) with living *animalia*.¹⁰ Moreover, these water gardens can hold up a mirror to nature's essential character. With compelling philosophy and seductive word-music, Roman *paideia*'s foundational voices on *natura* inculcated a perception¹¹ of nature as perpetual flux and cognition as perpetual motion. Topographies made of water, always movable or moving, potentially most afford the pathetic fallacy that movement of *person* and *persona* are identical. The installed art and iconic structures of these water gardens activate that equation.

Motion and Water

Our natural realm of motion is land. We move upright through the air we breathe, dependably on grounded feet or upon grounded living bearers or machines. Yet the world has two perceived realms where walking cannot take us: air and water. Another project of the Roman *imaginaire* existed around the journey through air, mimicked by art's bird's-eye view, pendant to the Roman images that sent them down into water, to look up through it in *fish-eye* view, veneering fountain niches, walls, and vaults of enclosed bath pools, floor mosaics, mid- and upper-wall fish fresco, and inlay.

Motion in water is neither simple nor safe, as the sculpture programs at Sperlonga and Tivoli make clear. To move in it physically requires wading or learning to swim in the face of currents, snags, and exhaustion. Boats may overturn or crash like circus chariots, as Hadrian's circus pool burlesqued; disrupted verticality submerges the human form in an element that can kill after a few moments. Calling a body of water navigable announces that it is too big for safe swimming. In water, we risk that currents of wind and water will balk our machines and get us lost like Odysseus to undesired or unknown ends. Boats offered speed, smooth-

⁹ The inhabited cave as *locus amoenus* is key to the understanding of providential nature, as it combines a natural hall that provides shelter with water and plants. To enter a Roman cave is to move in *with* another being; the cave is the *domus* of gods, muses, nymphs, and sacred snakes. Hence, natural and constructed grottoes are described as being "that of —." Mythic inhabitants react to humans, answering questions (oracular caverns), welcoming, or lashing out at intrusion. For Hellenistic and earlier Greek sacred grottoes, gardenized approaches, and interior ornament, see Brunilde Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture," in *Ancient Roman Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Wilhelmina F. Jashemski (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1981), 7–28. Esp. from Italy at Lokri come grotto models, some spouted or with statuettes of naked female bathers or nymphs. For the Roman elite's habit of making estates adjoin sacred spots (e.g., Scipio Africanus at Liternum: Pliny, *HN* 16.235), see John Bodel, "Monumental Villas and Villa Monuments," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 5–35, esp. 20–22. See Henri Lavagne, *Operosa antra: Recherches sur la grotte à Rome, de Sylla à Hadrien* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1988). Varro catalogued distinctive caverns (*specus*) as a species of sanctuary: Servius, *Commentary on the Aeneid* 4.56. For a cave view as resembling a window view, see Purcell, "Town in Country," 195–96. For the representation of views from or into caves, see my "Culture and History," 15–27; on sunken rooms, see notes 11 and 169.

¹⁰ Hence the generally benevolent views of agriculture, animal husbandry, transplantation of species, and grafting species together. Making one *locus* evoke other memorable *loci* or model a world frame was symbiotic with the systems of keying personal memory.

¹¹ Cf. Stephen Hinds, "Landscape with Figures: Aesthetics of Place in the *Metamorphoses* and Its Tradition," *Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

ness and directness of travel, and the chance to carry many times bodyweight in material goods far more easily and quickly than any means on land; but this ancient world was navigated only by direct sight of landmarks, from fear of the open sea's wind and water currents. The suddenness with which ships or swimmers could be driven off course meant bewildering danger never encountered on land because of a sprained ankle or broken cartwheel. In water battle, falling risked immediate death, as collapsing on land did not. Since souls needed to have their bodies burned or buried in order to be freed, especially horrible were visions, as at Sperlonga, of dying and being irretrievably washed away and devoured.¹²

Controlling a boat demands intelligence and strength. Its most potent realization demands that guiding intelligence organize a whole community of different skills. Hence Roman-era letters established on the earlier Greek legacy a distinctive European metaphor system. From Cicero to the Church fathers, a prow signaled any project. National or personal tribulation was imaged as the struggle to guide a boat's journey, and social violence was a storm raised or calmed by destructive or benevolent leaders. The economic and political lifeblood of all great ancient Mediterranean cultures flowed across seas and up rivers. Yet from the archaic Hesiod, important Greco-Roman authors represent water motion as driven by need or commercial greed. Roman villas emphasized the enjoyment of seacoast and riverside, but Horace, Ovid, and Propertius eyed those pleasures with suspicion. Hellenistic kings and elite Romans made boating a pleasure sport and constructed floating islands from luxurious yachts. Yet moralizing Roman satirists and historians depicted such tastes as indicators of dangerous instability or fluidity of character.

Romans graced motion in water with the panegyric gloss of political and religious staffage because water and air, unlike earth, consistently move. They seem like autonomously willful spirits, these personified waters venerated by Greco-Roman belief and their hordes of tritons, nymphs, and fabulous sea beasts.¹³ Ocean encircled all land, under which ran real rivers and Hades' streams. After death, the soul traversed these waters, whether to the island paradise at Ocean's furthest edge or ferried across Styx by a monstrous boatman. Journey to and from furthest Ocean was transformative, made by special beings,¹⁴ like an-

¹² The Greeks' epic *topos* is a terrible river battle. See C. J. Mackie, "Scamander and the Rivers of Hades in Homer," *American Journal of Philology* 120: 485–501, esp. 494 f. the hero's quest to cross the bitter rivers of Hades. Roman fears crystallize in the *Aeneid*'s stories about Aeneas's pious retrieval of drowned companions, to explain why the Italian coastal cities erected monuments that met sailors in warning and consolation. Cf. Alessandro Barchiesi, "Palinuro e Caieta: Due 'Epigrammi' Virgiliani (*Aeneid* 5.870 sg.; 7.1–4)," *Maia* n.s. 31 (1979): 3–11. In Vergil's Palinurus story and Ovid's appalling narrative of Ceyx's drowning (*Metamorphoses* 11. 430–572, 650–748), the living suffer visitations from the desperate souls of the drowned.

¹³ Scientific exploration of northwestern Europe provided knowledge of real tritons and nereids. Pliny, *HN* 9, narrated sightings in Augustan Gaul and Spain.

¹⁴ Philip Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 169–70, 308–10, 316, and 298 ff., under the index subheading Cosmic Setting; James Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

cient heroes, demigods, and historical leaders later deified, such as Alexander returning from India or Caesar from Britain.¹⁵ Extravagant water journeys endowed prospective immortality, whether of reputation or soul. Like Neptune, Rome's triumphant admirals and *piscina* patrons governed the sea. The first Emperor Augustus made this a hallmark of the prospective *divinus* or canonized *divus* emperor.¹⁶ Voyaging into death,¹⁷ anyone might aspire to join Venus in her shellboat for Elysium.¹⁸ Felicitous images in the home¹⁹ let humans walk on water like gods²⁰ and turned its rooms into idyllic archipelago.

Roman sociology and economy gave water special aspects. Not every Roman had bodily memories of nautical voyages, but all knew the sensations of *natatio* (swimming) for pleasure and health.²¹ Many cultures like the feeling of water on the skin but not all like

¹⁵ Rarer are imagined journeys to the water's distant floor, e.g., Theseus visiting his divine parent's sea palace. Vernacular histories collected in the early medieval *Alexander Romance* and the Islamic world discussed Alexander's descent in a glass bathysphere. See below on Roman hero stories about penetrating to the sources of fresh waters. The widespread myths about water beings drawing humans fatally into their homes are apotheoses too, for many were the *aition* for venerable hero and nymph cults.

¹⁶ I (as above, note 5, *Dynasty and Empire*) have been interested before in victory on the sea and the imagery of imperial *adventus* by water and its place in the binary *terra marique*. Here note how much is for private display. Augustan cameos and intaglios and the Primaporta Augustus are discussed here. Imagery of the Neptune-emperor needs synthetic analysis.

¹⁷ For the lifesize fleet decorating Alexander the Great's pyre for Hephaestion and Roman-era imitations, see my "Hellenistic Images of Spectacle," 102, 118–90; cf. the *rostra* appended to funerary altars of Julio-Claudian Rome.

¹⁸ Marine iconography is prominent in Roman funerary art. Here cf. the marine sarcophagi of the 2d to 4th century A.D., where a sea *thiasos* of tritons and nereids bears a bust of the deceased to Elysium, often in the shell of Venus's birth from the sea: Andreas Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Berlin: Grote, 1939), 152–70, cat. nos. 74 ff., and 218 (human or cupid fishers); *Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaines et paléochrétiennes*, ed. François Baratte and Christine Metzger (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1985). Many sarcophagi frame other themes between Earth and Ocean. See Baratte, *Catalogue des sarcophages*, 144, 218; Anna Marguerite McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), cat. no. 17, 94–106, esp. 95, 100; Diana Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 393, fig. 362. The Christianized equivalent is the Jonah sarcophagi, note 90. A 3d-century variant is the idyllic island before a detailed port representation. See Guntram Koch and Hellmut Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 1982); Guntram Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 2000). Marine apotheosis is common in chambered tombs in fresco, stucco, and mosaic.

¹⁹ The domestication of public imagery needs surveying. See Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy*, 187–88; my "Culture and History," 13, 18–26 note 52. Sculptural imagery in the Roman garden and atrium at real pools and wall fountains, or evoking them, is well known.

²⁰ For the sea-carpet floors esp. common in North Africa (the water-car of Neptune and Amphitrite, Venus, or Peleus and Thetis), see Katherine Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); *LIMC*, s.v. Venus, and s.v. Eros/Amor for the boating Amores of houses, sarcophagi, and tombs.

²¹ Erwin Mehl, "Schwimmen," *Paulys Realencyclopädie*, suppl. 5 (1931): 847–64, and *Antike Schwimmkunst* (Munich: Heimeran, 1927). I thank Nicholas Horsfall for this reference. J. De Laine, "Roman Baths and Bathing," in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 348–58, notes "the stunning private bath from the Republican Villa di Prato near Sperlonga" and recent work on how the healing powers of water are transferred from sacred springs to baths.

immersing or swimming in it. Many put water into gardens to look at and consciously gaze on river or ocean shores. Distinctively, Romans combined use, beauty, and pleasure, arranging waters, both fresh and salt, to look at as art's frame, and in which to raise fish for food and spectacle, to swim in and boat upon. The fishpond (*piscina*), industry and ornament alike, from the second century B.C., is much studied.²² Roman texts call "inventors" those who perfected already existing genres or practices. So the sources pin large-scale *piscina*, aviary, and gamepark practice on patrons of the early first century B.C., but the arts show that, as with house gardens and pools, these villa practices date from the second century B.C.

A wonderful document is the second-century B.C. House of the Faun in Pompeii. Its grandeur and the careful preservation of its ancient decor convey that it was a centerpiece for town notables. Its program comments upon luxurious water exploitation: an atrium garden pool; mosaics making indoors a maritime *piscina* and courtyard pool; and, actually in a garden court, a riverine fiction. The *piscina* fiction, where we look from under seawater past fish to air and rocky spurs, decorated the *tablinum*, the atrium's main public reception room adjoining its *impluvium* pool. That pool's central dancing satyr, providing the house's modern name, introduced visitors to a Dionysiac "freshwaterscape" on first entrance. The *tablinum*'s enormous window surveyed the garden court whose further portico path was edged by a densely populated Nilotic strip. Visitors stepped over this running Egyptian "river" to see the Alexander Mosaic, which illustrates a battle in Asia to which Alexander had come from Egypt. Another panel, modified from standard bisected formats of a *xenia* (dinner items) panel, reviews a long house pool from a diner's point of view. The foreground rim holds *piscina* produce (the *tablinum* panel's cockle and fishes) and fat little birds from an aviary. On the far rim, a house cat excitedly attacks a larger ornamental bird, burlesquing a ravening lion. Down the pool swim ducks toying with *lotos*, excerpted from the courtyard Nile motifs, as if we see a Republican *eurippus* channel or the moat of an aviary/*piscina* pavilion like Varro's.²³

Less meditated was the use of large *piscinae* for immersion and swimming.²⁴ Those motions suggest that the owners or viewers of such pools and their images were superior beings, ruling or preying upon water's animals. Roman nobles were known to costume themselves as tritons to dance and writhe across banquet halls.²⁵ Boating, human fishlords imitated Neptune's sea chariot. Water's threats could cause fear of a monstrous attack by its

²² Mosaic fish floors of the later 2d century B.C. gave even urbanites a pleasant gaze upon fish in enclosures, such as the carefully partitioned shallow pool modules of the energetic breeder, as at Sperlonga.

²³ Illust. in J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 326–40.

²⁴ Cf. the *stagnum* (any clear or marshy pond desired for productive estates, but also a large aestheticized tank for boating like Agrippa's in the Campus Martius and Nero's) now under the Flavian Colosseum: see Nicholas Purcell, "The Roman Villa and the Landscape of Production," in *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. Tim Cornell and Kathryn Lomas (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 151–79; and "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building," in *Roman Domestic Buildings*, Ian Barton, ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), 121–51. See also images in my "Culture and History," 23.

²⁵ Antony's *amicus* Munatius Plancus: Velleius Paterculus, 2.83.2; see my "Hellenistic Images of Spectacle," 99, 101. For Cleopatra's seduction of Antony on a river barge staffed with costumed nymphs, Graces, and Erotes looking like Venus in a painting, see Plutarch, *Antony* 36.1–3.

denizens. Its hungry, potentially deadly reach was eroticized when water gods rose up to rape women and nymphs; water nymphs drowned beautiful youths; and man-eating monsters like Scylla distorted the body's hungers. Yet, as Neptune was loved by his nymph wife and amorous tritons bore up nereid consorts to embody water's sensual embrace, humans could love and be loved by water's inhabitants. Crassus wept at the death of his pet eel; Italy preserved the myth of Arion, a human rescued by a dolphin.²⁶ This culture of regular *natatio* eroticized swimmers, whether mythical men like Polyphemus looking at Galatea or real women like Claudia, whom Cicero in *Pro Caelio* 36 libeled for ogling *horti* youths at Tiber-side swimming grounds.

Elites make grand landscapes. The Romans especially distinguished leadership as journey. The *cursus honorum*, the upper class's normal political course of offices, enforced a literal *cursus* throughout the empire's seas and lands. From the third century B.C., the normative life of any rich or noble Roman entailed repeated traverse from one end of the Mediterranean to the other for war, enrichment, administration, tourism, pilgrimage, or education. No wonder Fortuna governed personal and national fates, cities, and oceans with the steersman's rudder.²⁷ The watery geography of achievement informs geographic encyclopedias for war and commerce, which were conventionally structured on the periplus,²⁸ sailing a coastline in which genre the formative Republican age of water villas took special interest.²⁹ From the third century B.C., the Roman imagination was fed in the Roman Forum; the leaders of state, pleaders of political cause, and orators at elite funerals were viewed standing over stylized war fleets. The heart of sea-won empire, the platform was called the *rostra* ever since the prows of the enemy fleet from Carthage were fixed on it, and Augustus made a pendant one with Cleopatra's rams. The *res publica's* foundation upon steersmanship could find no better visual metaphor.³⁰

²⁶ Arion was claimed by Tarentum as well as Spartan Taenarum. Friends wrote to Augustus from their villas about a boy's scaly friend at Puteoli harbor; see Pliny, *HN* 10.25.

²⁷ Seneca sardonically begins by comparing Philip or Alexander, a killing *pestis mortalium* (human epidemic), to a flood—the kind of event he puts in the realm of Fortuna's, which (cf. already Cicero, *De officiis* 2.6.19) includes storms and shipwrecks; Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales* 1.14: “[N]ot only humans but cities, coasts, and the sea itself come under the yoke of *fatum*.” See Rosenmeyer, “Seneca and Nature,” 112–13.

²⁸ Lionel Casson, *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); P. A. Brunt, rev. of H. D. Meyer (1961), “Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die Augusteische Dichtung,” in *Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963): 170–76 = *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 96–109; Claude Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 5, 69–71, 81–82, notes 38–45; Richard Talbert, “Rome's Empire and Beyond: The Spatial Aspect,” in *Gouvernants et gouvernés dans l'Imperium Romanum (IIIe siècle av. J.C.–Ier siècle ap. J.C.)*, 215–23 (Quebec: UQP, 1991); G. Sundwall, “Ammianus Geographicus,” *American Journal of Philology* 117: 619–43. Hence, maps like the Madaba mosaic include ships at shorelines. On sailing images, see O. Höckmann, “Das Schiff,” in *Das Wrack: Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, ed. Gisela Hellenkamper Salies et al. (Cologne: Rheinland Verlag, 1994), 53–81.

²⁹ Nicolet, *Space* (as above, note 28), 81 note 42.

³⁰ Hellenistic and Roman ships destroyed each other by backing into their wooden sides, driving home toothed bronze rams (*rostra*) weighing a ton or more mounted at the ship's rear. This required coordination of oarsmen and fleet by commanders. The manipulation of these heavy rams into trophies also commanded awe.

With the shift from republic to empire, Augustus's *itinerarium principis*, the solicitous leader's voyage *terra marique* (by land and sea) solidified Republican paradigms of virtuous exertion.³¹ "Through you, we live, we sail, we are free and fortunate."³² Neptune-emperors guarded the seas from turmoil and human predation. These journeys of person and nation revived Rome's founding myths of fraught water voyage toward a new home and identity: the mass migration of the defeated Trojans under Aeneas's leadership, across the Mediterranean from Asia to Greece, Africa, Sicily, and finally up the Tiber to primordial Rome's marshy valley. The city's founder Romulus was cast adrift in infancy, then floated to land by the river's solicitous deeps, and providentially suckled by the she-wolf in a shaded grotto (Lupercal) historically revered at the Palatine.³³ All cultured Romans knew the epics of Mediterranean journey: Homer's archaic *Odyssey* and *The Returns* ascribed to him, Apollonius's Hellenistic *Argonautica*, and their own Latin national epics like Ennius's Republican *Annals* and Vergil's Augustan *Aeneid*. Since the archaic period, Italy and Sicily, abetted by eastern Greek critics and allies, made the epics narrate foreigners' adventures to found Italian cities and clans.³⁴ Roman investment in water motion has been documented in the most intimately enjoyed arts, starting with the earliest signature known of a Roman artist: The fourth-century B.C. Ficoroni Cist limned the Argonaut adventures at island and spring for a Latin woman's boudoir at Palestrina.³⁵ When the elite developed *villegiatura* by water, they laminated it to heroic myth, as at Sperlonga. Exemplary is how a mural (the "Odyssey Landscapes") at a first-century B.C. suburban mansion in Rome's Esquiline *hortus* zone centered on a *villa maritima* as Circe's palace. By the late first century A.D., Emperor Domitian planted a *villa*

For Roman conquerors represented standing over their ships on statue bases, see my "Some New Grounds for Narrative: Marcus Antonius's Base (The Ara Domitii Ahenobarbi) and Republican Biographies," in *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, ed. Peter J. Holliday (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 218; and my "Hellenistic Images of Spectacle," 102 and note 19. At Actium, Augustus similarly faced a colossal podium for Apollo of Leukas at his new victory city Nikopolis. See William Murray and Photios Petsas, *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989), 72, note 78; on these column statues, see 84–94; on the Republican *rostra*, 109–10; on Augustus's reshaping, 117–24; on dedicating 10 of his own warships at Cape Actium, 116–17.

³¹ Helmut Halfmann, *Itinera principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986).

³² For grateful Alexandrian merchant ships ritually acclaiming Augustus at Puteoli harbor on his last *villegiatura* cruise, see Suetonius, *Augustus* 98.

³³ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2.381 ff. and 3.1 f.: Mars's impregnation of Rhea Silvia, lulled to sleep on the banks of the Tiber to the sound of its waters. Lost public graphic cycles inspired, e.g., the frieze (Romulus and Aeneas) at an aristocratic Esquiline house tomb in the 1st century B.C.; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York: Praeger, 1968), s.v. Columbarium of the Statilii; Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 31, fig. 1.3.6–7; restored at the Palazzo Massimo.

³⁴ Irad Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), reviewed by E. Cook in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 00.03.22; T. P. Wiseman, "Legendary Genealogies in Late Republican Rome," in *Roman Studies Literary and Historical* (Liverpool and Wolfenboro, N.H.: F. Cairns, 1987), 157–60.

³⁵ Handsome nude youths for the female gaze of Dindia Macolnia and her daughter: cf. Claudia (Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 36). Donald Strong, *Roman Art* (New York: Penguin, 1988), fig. 2; Tobias Dohrn, *Die Ficoronische*

on her promontory by Circei, to dine dangerously in magical ease, looking toward Sperlonga, whose depicted Odysseus had not yet reached her mansion.³⁶

The Water Garden, Reading: A Note

Throwing texts at art proves what has been made and what it means. I deploy Roman texts but for purposes intrinsic to reconstructing garden sensibilities. Picturing and being pictured include what is heard and read. Rhetoric, poetry, drama, and history aim to make one see events, as scholars increasingly address in their research, and to put one into the place, time, and shared situation of verbal exposition. Even the unlettered expected to be thrilled by public oratory and performance. The lettered labored since childhood at rhetorical exercises demanding that they enact someone else's story: "Art fortified literature and history."³⁷ What to feel and how to identify oneself in the iconic Roman artscape: paradigmatic literatures offered the scripts, and designed landscape offered stages on which to impersonate those canonic stories.³⁸ Conversely, cultures use their materiality to understand their texts' visual and material terms, and Roman art patrons regarded themselves as authors. It is as more than "illustration" that I match experience of the *Odyssey* to inhabiting Sperlonga and characterize Hadrian at the Canopus as the Aristaeus of the now-canonic *Georgics*. To Greek assertions that environment shapes human properties, the Romans added an understanding that event, history, and emotion may be accidents of place and space. Sperlonga's hyperrealist images of the *Odyssey* in "real" sea and rock recall Lucretius's *De rerum natura* and his statement to this effect, purposely making his exemplar the Iliadic disaster at Troy from which his Rome was born and equating burning emotions to real

Ciste in der Villa Giulia in Rom (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1972), listing pictorial analogues to ship and beach scenes: the Argonauts, their ship beached at an island landfall, drink at a spring; the Dioscuri bind to a tree the defeated evil boxer, King Amykos; Silenus guards the rock spring, a Dionysiac *locus amoenus*. The sophisticated engraving replicates public master paintings at Rome. Burial perhaps exploited salvific potential in this water quest imagery; on Sperlonga's Argo, see 18.

³⁶ Ralf Biering, *Die Odysseefresken vom Esquilin* (Munich: Biering and Brinkmann, 1995); illust. in Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 198, 185–88, bibliog. 298, note 1. The visual villa equation is mine. This is the contemporary painter's focalizing interpolation in a master narrative set in a stunning rocky shore landscape, drawn from a Hellenistic (Italian) Greek source: P. von Blanckenhagen, "The Odyssey Frieze," *Römische Mitteilungen* 70 (1963): 100–146. For Domitian's villa at Sabaudia, see Harald Mielsch, *La villa romana* (Florence: Giunti, 1990), 101–2.

³⁷ MacDonald and Pinto, 189, on Tivoli.

³⁸ Hinds, "Landscape with Figures"; bibliog., my "Culture and History," 343–73 s.v., 351–53; Bettina Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit: Landscape as Status and Metaphor," in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, ed. Elaine Gazda (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 49–69; *ibid.*, "Visualizing Pliny's Villas," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995): 406–20; *ibid.*, "Rhythmus of Recognition: Mythological Encounters in Roman Landscape Painting," in *Im Spiegel des Mythos: Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt*, ed. Francesco de Angelis and Susanne Muth (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1999); John Winkler on the novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, in *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 101–28; Ann Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), on forensic address; Eleanor Windsor Leach, *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); Herwig Blum, *Antike Mnemotechnik*

flames.³⁹ Story itself may generate lands and waters, as throughout Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, which inhabited the water gardens of the first century B.C.

Sperlonga

Sperlonga is within a day's land journey south of Rome. Republican pleasure seekers liked the comfortable, lovely journey by sea along the villa coast between Anzio and the Bay of Naples. It is best known for its early imperial pool sculptures. Archaeological dating of the pool's masonry shows that Augustus rather than Tiberius initiated the famous symposium complex.⁴⁰ He regularly visited en route to Capri, his personal island. He died on such a cruise, a short boat ride from the siren islets at Sorrento's Cape of the Sirenoussae, whose peak held a shrine Odysseus built.⁴¹ That Augustan character is fully understood only when we see how this villa was elaborated since the early first century B.C., each phase preserved to frame and be reframed by the next.

Accessible by the Via Appia was a cliff-top prospect villa refreshed by sea air and with a deep beach lagoon and cave below.⁴² By late second century B.C., Romans cherished the

(New York: Olms, 1969); Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁹ Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1.469–70, 1.481–82: “[W]hatever it is that will have been done (*actum*) can be called a kind of accident (*eventum*) either of the earth in general or of specific regions”; 1.478 and 1.481–82 convey that histories of action (*res gestae*) are better called the *eventa* of body and place.

⁴⁰ Kunze, “Zur Datierung des Laokoon”; Harald Mielsch, *Die römische Villa: Architektur und Lebensform* (Munich: Beck, 1987), 102–4, 116–17; bibliog. on 160, note 167. Of 554 significant fragments found, about 100 belong to our groups. In general, see Weis, “Sperlonga and Hellenistic Sculpture” (review of Nikolaus Himmelmann's excellent *Sperlonga: Die homerischen Gruppen und ihre Bildquellen* [Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1995]), *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 412–20; Weis, “Odysseus at Sperlonga: Hellenistic Hero or Roman Heroic Foil?” in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, ed. Nancy T. De Grummond and Brunilde Ridgway (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 111–65, esp. 134 f., installation, seats, stairs, lighting for the images. In *From Pergamon*, see also Ridgway, “The Sperlonga Sculptures: The Current State of Research,” 78–91; and J. J. Pollitt, “The Phantom of a Rhodian School of Sculpture,” 92–110. Weis identifies Aeneas and Lausus of the Odysseus with a corpse; *contra* (I concur), see Peter Green, “Pergamon and Sperlonga: A Historian's Reactions,” in *From Pergamon*, 166–90 at 182 f. Weis, in “Sperlonga and Hellenistic Sculpture,” note 2, and “Odysseus at Sperlonga,” dismisses Kunze's interpretation because (unexplained) the date seems early. See A. Stewart, “To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon, and Tiberius at the Dinnertable,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 76–90, for spectacularism, mythographic erudition, ancient sources' evil Tiberius. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 122 f., figs. 125–26; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), figs. 144–47 (143, Laocoön), 110–11; Bernard Andreae, *Ulisse: Il mito e la memoria* (Rome: Progetti Museali, 1996); Bernard Andreae, esp. *Praetorium Speluncae: Tiberius und Ovid in Sperlonga* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), and “Andere Ansichten von Sperlonga,” in *Die alten Sprachen und die bildenden Künste* (Stuttgart: Landesinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht, 1999), 38–53. In *Alten Sprachen*, see also H. Walter, “Der Stand der Diskussion um die Ausgrabung von Sperlonga nach der Publikation von Nikolaus Himmelmann, ‘Ansichten von Sperlonga,’” 54–67. Stylistic analysis intertwines with the Laocoön; see note 108.

⁴¹ Strabo, 5.4.8: Naples's monument to the Siren Parthenope hosted gymnastic games that Augustus attended.

⁴² Not addressed in *From Pergamon*. Cf. Columella's Neronian-era prescriptions for villas overlooking

sea caves of the villa coasts and islands for fish farming and aesthetic pleasure.⁴³ Fairly isolated on its stretch of coastline, here the colossal dark mouth prominent to pleasure cruisers gave Sperlonga its sobriquet: cavern (*spelunca*). Around 80 B.C., a wealthy owner who bred fish in the lagoon would have prized this covered inner pool to shade them. Romans liked villas with neighbors. Down the shore, a productive *villa rustica* adjoined a freshwater river cascade, another prized amenity. Sperlonga's neighbor also acquired fine water prospect architecture and an extraordinary ramp over the Via Appia that reached an immense beach portico.

The sites may have been unified previously, but if not, Augustus would have bought the property to enlarge Sperlonga for security and to give it a working agricultural estate as well as the cascade.⁴⁴ Between 37 and 31 B.C., he and Agrippa reshaped this coastline. For the war against Sextus Pompey's piratical fleets that were based in Sicily ca. 37 B.C., they made Cumae's Portus Julius⁴⁵ and for the Actian campaign against Antony in 31 B.C., a colossal harbor at Misenum.⁴⁶ The villa probably belonged to the Octavii, Augustus's birth clan, to the Julii, his adoptive clan, or to one of his wife Livia's clans, the Claudii or Livii. The Via Appia trunk is suggestive.⁴⁷ Surely Augustus used this site in the 30s while on his great harbor-building projects, just as in the 30s he started to use Livia's villa at Primaporta as a refreshing habitation nearer Rome.

the sea and set back from it, both within reach of refreshing spray (*De re rustica* 1.5.5–6). Cf. Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives."

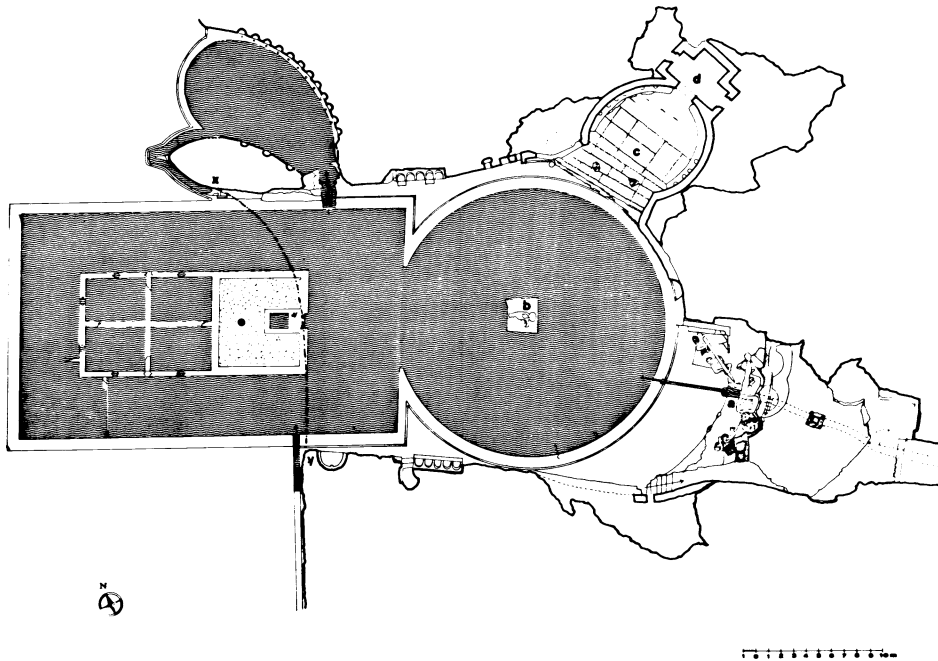
⁴³ Strabo, 5.3.6: The many coastal caves often adjoin estates. James Higginbotham, *Piscinae: Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), and X. Lafon, "Piscinae et pisciculture dans le bassin occidental de la Méditerranée," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (1998) 11: 573–82 [review].

⁴⁴ Mielsch, *Villa romana*, 47–48, fig. 23. The cascade was bridged to a cliff pavilion, and there was no *piscina*. Perhaps Sperlonga's was shared early on.

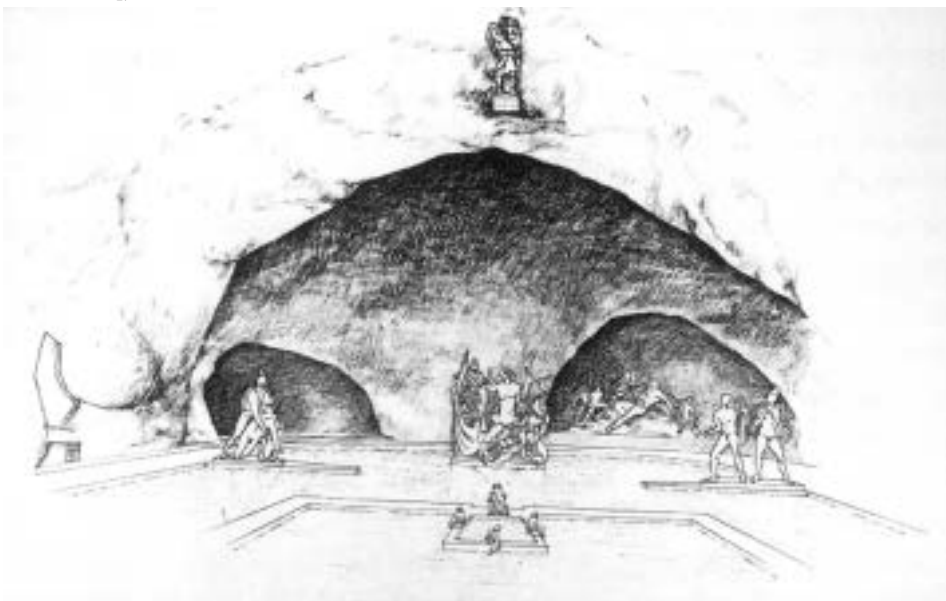
⁴⁵ PECS, s.v. Inside Cape Misenum on the Bay of Naples, Cumae's *campi Phlegraei* were considered an entrance to Hades. Vergil described Cumae's grotto as an ancient oracle of Apollo's Sibyl. This cavelike *cryptoporticus* with three rock-cut basins overlooked the sea through nine arched bays. Its innermost *adyton* was a larger chamber with two side recesses. The crypt's entrance was linked to stairs up to Apollo's temple and a ramp down to a *cryptoporticus* that the architect Cocceius built for Augustus.

⁴⁶ *Spelunca* as a *praetorium*, later a common imperial palace term (Tacitus, *Annales* 4.59), reflects that it was a station on official *peregrinatio*. Cf. Misenum's (PECS, s.v.) circular inner harbor (foreground spits crossable by wooden bridges). Antony's villa perhaps held a breakwater promontory, a nice irony. In A.D. 37 Tiberius died here at Lucullus's villa. Augustus had surely impounded both already. See Strabo, 1.2.9, where Odysseus encounters the man-eating Laestrygonians here (cf. "Odyssey Landscapes"). Also, Augustus built large *piscinae* for Portus Julius nearby; see Lafon, "Piscinae et pisciculture," 576, 581, and *piscinae Caesaris* at Ankara/Ancore, and Pausilippon.

⁴⁷ Baia, PECS, s.v., also with a fabulous cavern (Great Antrum) regularized for descent to a hot spring and inner hall, an Augustan construction under the Hadrianic swimming pool (*natatorium*), the Baths of Venus. Caesar's villa: Seneca, *Epistles* 51.11; Tacitus, *Annales* 14.9 (now Augustus's). On ideological *pietas* toward keeping up family estates, see Bodel, "Monumental Villas," 11–12. A painted grotto garden room was added at Primaporta when it was remodeled in the 30s. See my "Culture and History," 26–30.



1. Sperlunga: Plan of the piscina, dining island, and grotto (from E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "The Importance of Water in Roman Garden Triclinia," in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall [Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987])



2. Sperlunga: Reconstructed view from the dining island of the cave with sculpture placement restored, dining island panisci, and the Julio-Claudian Homeric cycle of the cave, ca. 100 to 80 B.C. (from G. Jacopi, *L'Antro di Tiberio a Sperlunga* [Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1963])

Time for Dinner 1

What was the pleasure cave of which Augustus took possession? In its first aestheticized phase, a dining island was founded in the middle of the *piscina* (Figs. 1, 2). This offered views into the enormous cave, dimly lit in blue by water reflections, and back over the sea to further islands and promontories. Inside the cave, a shallow recess was cut and later enlarged for the Augustan Polyphemus group. Perhaps such a group was put there, for the Cyclops cave was set not only in Sicily but also at nearby Cumae. The identification of Terracina/Circei nearby with Circe's locale was ancient, and from this villa the promontories identified with Circe's fantastical sea villa were visible. Odysseus's larger Italian coastal itinerary was brought to life by the Augustan sculptures.⁴⁸

This *piscina* pavilion with its ornamental basin is one of the earliest *triclinia* (water dining rooms), almost a water atrium. Its top layer is on the surface⁴⁹ over the *piscina*'s little nests (half-amphora shells) that fish inhabited. Diners observed the fish in the island's normative grid of sequestered pools, a spectacle that Republican mosaic fish floor panels endorsed.⁵⁰ They also saw colored forms swirl to the platform, leaving their holes⁵¹ to take food diners tossed. Visitors arrived like Neptune coming home from the sea, reveling in having fish swim up under the table they would shortly lie upon. This was a Roman pleasure up through the Gothic conquest.

The island's pool grid was floored as needed by temporary planking. It was reached by

⁴⁸ Strabo, 5.3.6: Ringed by sea and marsh, the promontory's Circe shrine displayed Odysseus's cup. On Cyclops art in Republican Italy and the tragicomic banquet effect and Dionysiac flavor, see Weis, "Sperlonga and Hellenistic Sculpture," 414–15; on Scylla, Odysseus, and Cyclops in Hellenistic (Etruscan) Italy, see Stephan Steingraber, "Pergamene Influences on Etruscan Hellenistic Art," in *From Pergamon* (as above, note 40), 235–54, esp. 235–39. On Scylla in Sicily, see, e.g., Brunilde Ridgway in *Archaeology* 21 (1968): 230–31, and "The Sperlonga Sculptures," 85, and notes 20–25, discussing Italian parallels for Sperlonga. See also Nancy T. De Grummond, "Gauls and Giants, Skylla and the Palladium: Some Responses," in *From Pergamon*, 262–68, Italian pedigree, 255–77, esp. 271–73, noting topographic reference.

⁴⁹ Mielsch's survey in *Villa romana* affords contextualization in maritime villa *piscinae* and grottoes of the 1st century B.C. and early empire. E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "The Importance of Water," in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (as above, note 6), 137–84, esp. 138, 168–69, the best topographic and inhabitation-oriented discussion, alone considers motions required by Roman water gardens in light of another much-neglected reality, the servant entourage. For Tivoli, I propose its sculptural figuration.

⁵⁰ The basin transposes the typical U-shaped couch triad around a fish mosaic *emblema* at maritime villas "where the eye could sweep south to the horizon of the sea, and back to the central part of the atrium," a Dionysiac bucolic setting. See Richard Neudecker, "The Roman Villa as a Locus of Art Collections," in *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana*, ed. A. Frazer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1998), 77–92, esp. 86. For dinner resembling fishpools, see Horace, *Satires* 2.8.42–43: a *murena* (eel) served, shrimps swimming around in a "broth" sea.

⁵¹ See Salza Prina Ricotti. Obviously, cf. Varro's moated island with fish and duck nests in his riverine villa (*De re rustica* 3.5.8); its water floor between fishpools could also have a platform at need. See Mielsch, *Villa romana*, 14–16, figs. 4–5; A. L. Littlewood, "Ancient Literary Evidence for the Pleasure Gardens of Roman Country Villas," in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (as above, note 6), 7–30 esp. 12, 14–15. See Mielsch, *Villa romana*, 24–29, 56–58, 63–64 for 1st-century B.C. and imperial *piscina* pools and grotto systems, platforms, and seats inviting contemplative visits. On watching a prospective fish dinner, see X. Lafon, "Piscinae et pisciculture," 580–81; Littlewood, "Ancient Literary Evidence."

skiffs, so distant it was from its surround.⁵² Inside, servants likely inched along narrow cavern walkways, but the elite in their silken draperies must have poled to this island, the sculpture, and inner cavern, as would those servants hauling dining furniture and food. The elite also swam for pleasure to the dining platform and cavern ledges,⁵³ to splash in water like the pointy-eared baby satyrs (*panisci*) at the island's ornamental pool. These could have been ordered from Asia or Athens for any pool rim. The masonry phases correlate with how their exact cousins sank with a ship near Tunisian Mahdia, bringing art to Roman villa builders between 100 and 80 B.C. These inhabited the basin's three near sides,⁵⁴ playfully scooping up water or fish in outstretched overlapping hands.⁵⁵ On the far rim, a servant spouted water from his jug.⁵⁶ These playing babies mimic *deliciae* (toddlers kept as "pets" for banquets), who perhaps splashed in this basin.⁵⁷

The sculptures make this an island landfall of generic Dionysiac ease. Then or later, Dionysiac masks made lamp sconces inside the side cavern so that fiery satyr eyes glowed out of the cave's gloom. Laughing satyrs and a Cyclops at a cave for dinner entertainment: that defines the comic satyr-play classic, Euripides' *Cyclops*, known to Republican audiences.⁵⁸ The regal fantasies of the great houses of the first century B.C. in fresco and architectural forms are well known. This platform with enclosed pool imitated the amenities of royal Sicilian yachts,⁵⁹ such as the boat that Hiero of Syracuse gave to the Ptolemies. Its fake dining room grotto held sculpture and had its own *piscina*.

Above, visitors headed for prospect rooms and porches to take the moving air and look out to sea and down the tempting strand. Desire pulled them to descend, enter the

⁵² Salza Prina Ricotti, "Roman Garden Triclinia," and "Forme speciale di triclini," *Cronache Pompeiane* 5: 102–49, esp. 143.

⁵³ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 15.35, for a list of Baia's delights of *navigia*: sex, banquets, dance, and musical spectacles. Art in baths where because of scale or room function there was no swimming; see my "Culture and History," 13, note 52; Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy*, fig. 103, 187–88 with bibliog.; John R. Clarke, *Roman Black and White Figural Mosaics* (New York: New York University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1979); Strong, *Roman Art*, fig. 120, bibliog., 288, note 20.

⁵⁴ *Das Wrack* (as above, note 28) 18 f.; Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture," 14–15; Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga." Andreae noted the similarity. I am interested in synchrony. Cf. *impluvium* pools as decorated since the 1st century B.C.: Michele George, "Elements of the Peristyle in Campanian Atria," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 82–100, esp. 88 f., 94, 97.

⁵⁵ Cf. the wine bowl (crater) buried by an Augustan officer on the Rhine frontier: Toddlers (*deliciae*) clamber in acanthus as if in rock pools and seaweed, spearing enormous shrimps, fishing with rods; eels and snaky fish curl by. See Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), fig. 144, detail fig. 255, bibliog., 364.

⁵⁶ Standardized ornament; Neudecker, "The Roman Villa as a Locus of Art Collections," 85, fig. 7.14, 16.

⁵⁷ Cf. Tiberius inhabiting Augustus's villas at Capri: Servants dressed as maenads and satyrs attended grotto picnickers (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 43). Guests swam with *deliciae* labeled *minnows*. Suetonius fantasized that they nibbled adults lasciviously.

⁵⁸ Cf. ambushed Silenos's numinous yet comic cave in Vergil's 6th *Eclogue*. Mime: Horace, *Satires* 1.5.63, *Cyclopa saltare*. Pliny, *HN* 35.74, praised Timanthes' comic painting. Scylla mimes: note 74.

⁵⁹ X. Lafon, "Piscinae et pisciculture," 577. Deck pavilions from which the captain or steersmen kept watch over the course: *Das Wrack* (as above, note 28), 77.

water, and glimpse the *spelunca* hidden underfoot.⁶⁰ The savored vista included motion in water: boats, fishers, and even swimmers. Augustus patronized a painter of these spectacles.⁶¹ Those arriving by boat saw the cavern prospect, elegant porticoed spaces embracing it, and passed the improved lagoon leading back into the cave. It was possible to bathe, before ascending the cliff, or remain below if on a short visit or enfeebled by age or drink. Augustus further monumentalized the contours, rounding out the cavern pool beyond the rectangular *piscina*. So both approaches by land and sea proffered a miniaturized version of those fine city harbors Augustus constructed.⁶² The conscious pleasure taken in such sites is illustrated in those fantasies that enter Augustan landscape fresco,⁶³ as at what may be Villa Farnesina, the urban villa of his admiral Agrippa. Prefigured in second-century B.C. floor mosaics,⁶⁴ often decorating the *villae maritimae* they celebrate, such frescoes depict breakwaters and promontories elaborated with porticoes and sculpture, embracing sheltered waters. Frequently, a lower corner's natural rock and tree make it necessary to cruise a villa coast between its wild and elaborated sections. Harbors have a foreground mole, villas throw out island projections with people on them, and boats pass by. It appeared just so from Sperlonga's islet.⁶⁵ From above, the pavilion would have seemed like a pleasure boat entering the harbor under colored awnings (*vela*). All the more delicious then to pole into this lagoon to see an almost wrecked ship. Some later emperor elaborated on this harbor fantasy with the profile of Jason's ship, the *Argo*, carved into the cliff as if it had eased into the lagoon.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ A watery version of *villae urbanae*, whose approach was a mirror image of the urban *domus*, through garden court to atrium. See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Villa as Cultural Symbol," in *The Roman Villa* (as above, note 50), on *impluvium* decoration. Augustus's Palatine *domus* was a prospect villa, over two mythic caverns (Cacus's and Lupercal), from their level ascent via (46) the Stairs of Cacus.

⁶¹ Studius (Ludius), Pliny, *HN* 35.116; Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 142–49; Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives."

⁶² Cf. the promontory palace at Caesarea of Augustus's friend Herod, a Roman villa maritima with enclosed *piscina*: Kathryn L. Gleason et al., "The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima: Preliminary Evidence for Herod's *Praetorium*," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 23–52, esp. 23 f., 35–39, on the pools of all Herod's garden palaces; (25) this *praetorium* (*Acts* 23: 35) compares well to *praetorium speluncae*.

⁶³ *La villa della Farnesina in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, ed. M. R. Sanzi di Mino (Milan: Electa, 1998). Shore scenes lining halls *F* and *G* (pls. 138–47) suggest campaigns and harbor buildings of Augustus and Agrippa: *G* (pl. 143), sea battle, defeated soldiers swimming toward besieged tower; *F* (pl. 141), ship sailing to river bridge, happy fishers guarded by Neptune statue on a crag, foot up on a *rostrum*—later typical but in this formative period suggesting Octavian's victory coins.

⁶⁴ Cf. fragmentary cove scenes in mosaic: ca. 150 B.C., fishers and their tackle from Priverno (Rome, Museo Nazionale); fragment from Praeneste's "Cave of the Lots," fish laid on a strand. M. R. Sanzi di Mino, "Pavimentazione a Roma e nel Lazio," *Roma repubblicana dall' 270 A.C. all'età Augustea* (Rome: Quasar, 1987), 48–63, esp. 60–61, figs. 14, 15.

⁶⁵ For fundamental exposition and contextualization of the thematics of images about harbors, shore, and sea, see Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives," 49–69. This essay is steeped in hers.

⁶⁶ A mosaic inscription explained the ship's nondescript profile.

Time for Dinner 2

Houses at Pompeii, which at the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 retained superb earlier programs, show the prestige of heirloom art and architecture. Augustus left the dining island intact. Expanding the lagoon's habitability, mosaic, fresco, stucco, and artificial encrustations formalized a salon in the newly regularized innermost fissure. The cranny beside the outer pool was also slightly altered. All this framed new, hyperrealist marble sculptures at the cave: Homeric spectacles of combat, courage, horror, and suspense. The pleasure motions of boating and swimming are evidenced by the inner suite and this new high art installation, which was placed carefully for vistas from the dining island but also demanded closer inspection. The idea of story sculpture exploiting a cave setting was not new, and if the first decorations included a Cyclops, Augustus had a Homeric theme he could expand. Tourists to Smyrna and its Homereion came to the bard's famed water cave by the flowing source of the Meles River, his father, where he had sat composing.⁶⁷ Now Augustus's water cave at its planted porticoes brought into vision the stories that had flowed from blind Homer's mouth (cf. Silenus singing of Scylla in his cave).⁶⁸ The city and its culture are evoked in these elaborate images, as is the Mediterranean expanse by its Rhodian workshop. Their difficult transport to this water garden must have teased the admiring imagination.⁶⁹

Sperlonga finds in the 1950s revolutionized Greco-Roman art history because Scylla was signed by the Rhodian artists to whom Pliny (*HN* 35.37) ascribed the *Laocoön*, proving that the statue is not a Hellenistic Greek original (Athanadoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros). In cave cranny and in the water were enacted near-death moments suffered by Odysseus in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Figs. 3–5). Episodes were chosen so that, by eye or motion, the series made the viewer sail a course at once geographic and temporal—to Asia, then back to Italy, and from the *Iliad*'s moments before the fall of Troy to its aftermath in the *Odyssey*. Closest to the island, the shaped foreground spits at the cave's mouth made Troy's Asian seacoast and river plain, where Odysseus contended with his Roman viewers' Trojan ancestors. At left, he glared around an implied battle melee, rescuing the corpse of a young companion.⁷⁰ At

⁶⁷ Homer was mothered by a nymph and was born at riverside. Pausanias, 7.12–13, names this *spelaeion* among (7.6.1) Ionia's marvels, *thaumata*; just before (7.10–12) he lists Ionia's *loutra*, natural baths in the rocks. Some were Homeric (with sculptures?), e.g., Klazomenai's "baths" of Agamemnon.

⁶⁸ Vergil, *Eclogue* 6.74–77.

⁶⁹ I agree with those who wrote that they were carved in Italy with knowledge of the site, bravura inventions in marble from no matter what influences. In their master canon of archaic through early 3d-century Greek art, neither Pliny nor Pausanias knew of sculpture about Odysseus. Shipping and assembling was formidable, whether from Rome or temporary workshops at Puteoli or Baia. Plantings, cf. irrigation pits: W. Jashemski and E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Preliminary Excavations in the Gardens of Hadrian's Villa: The Canopus Area and the Piazza d'Oro," *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1992): 592, fig. 16.

⁷⁰ An established Hellenistic composition, Pasquino group: an erect warrior braces a dead one's limp body. Scholars puzzle over ours (see Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga") as Aeneas, (Green *contra*), since he has a specific ornamented helmet of Phrygian or Thracian type. I do not believe viewers labored to examine helmet details; rather, when bearded Odysseus led three other groups, this too seemed to be Odysseus.

right he moved with equal agitation through the Trojan lines by night with his friend Diomedes, whose hand clutches the Palladium (see Fig. 4). They had just stolen it from Troy's citadel to deprive the city of its guardian token and guarantee its fall.⁷¹ At evening banquets, the lighted villa above might have seemed like Troy's acropolis.

Further within the cavern's water and across it lie Sicily and Italy, where geographers place the scenery. At the back is Polyphemus's cave, as if it were possible to see magically into the blocked cavern of the narrative: The giant, with the wineskin holder lunged away, lies asleep from the effects of the wine used to distract him from eating Odysseus's companions; meanwhile Odysseus is leading the company to plunge a stake into his eye (see Fig. 3).⁷² The pool centerpiece is where Odysseus's ship struggled past Scylla, whose echoing *spelunca* guarded the straits of Rhegion and Messina (see Fig. 5). Here guests bypassed her to reach the inner salon, which was set into a round basin, floored and rimmed by colored marbles and edged with mosaic inlay.⁷³ She pulled the helmsman from the boat, as her sea-dog lower limbs strangled and devoured victims. Odysseus brandished a spear and in response she seemed to move her head. Like his trick on the Cyclops, the distraction was successful, and the boat escaped with the survivors of this other homophagous feast.

The images delineate desperate and dangerous water journey and landfall. Yet they invite the water motions they ironize for those swimming and punting between inner suite and dining island around the images. Guests must have wanted to inspect these baroque masterworks and look closely into the convulsed faces of Scylla's victims. How difficult it must have been to resist clambering amidst the marble men and over the inert giant, a group that mocks both bad hosts and guests, and adding a hand to the shaft about to blind the man-eater, as other diners applauded. Visitors swam or punted back to the dining couches in burlesque of Odysseus's own escape.⁷⁴ Selecting or even spearing the ornamental fish for dinner, they could mimic the ravenous "fishlady" munching men.⁷⁵

⁷¹ On this version, 29. The smiling Minerva/Pallas Athena, archaic style signaling its antiquity, had a shield on one arm, the other raised to strike with an attached metal spear. In the warrior's arms the combative stance ironizes the image's helplessness, a cruel pun on conventional rape groups. Yet her spear *will* land; she *will* torment these two *and* their comrades, for Cassandra's rape at Pallas's identically posed cult statue, and Trojan descendants *will* conquer Greece. De Grummond, "Gauls and Giants," suggests, without parallels, Diomedes handing the Palladium to Aeneas, to fit Weis's Italian "Aeneas and Lausus." No viewer could read the clutching rape pose with its agitated stances as anything but the theft.

⁷² Missing the great marble or metal cup standard in related wine-drinking groups. Dropped from Cyclops's nerveless hand, it lay at the niche's edge.

⁷³ Cf. Ridgway, "The Sperlonga Sculptures," 87, note 2: "The total effect would then have seemed less natural and wild in antiquity than it appears today, when the artificial decoration is largely lost."

⁷⁴ Romans relished 5th-century Athenian dramas where (Aristotle, *Poetics* [Loeb ed.] 145a, 146b) "[A]ctors think the audience do not understand unless they put in something of their own, and so they strike all sorts of attitudes, as [when] . . . mauling the leader of the chorus when they are playing the Scylla." Cyclops mimes, 17.

⁷⁵ One re-creation (Pliny, *HN* 9.77) is Vedius Pollio's tossing of "bad" servants into his pools of trained eels, who were maddened by vinegar that had been added to the water, thereby causing them to devour the servants. This perversion fits the harmful opulence (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.643–44) for which Augustus razed Vedius's Palatine mansion when it was bequeathed to him in 15 B.C. However, he accepted Pollio's villa at Pausilypon near Naples; its *piscina* may have showcased this carnage.



3. (above) *Odysseus and his men blinding the Cyclops Polyphemus, seen from the back of the cave (courtesy of the Sperlonga Museum; reconstruction by B. Conticello)*



4. (left) *The Palladium in the Hand of Diomedes (fragment, height 82 cm; courtesy of the Sperlonga Museum). This grouping of Odysseus and Diomedes stealing the Palladium at Troy is viewed from the front of the cave.*

5. (below) *Odysseus's ship menaced by Scylla (courtesy of the Sperlonga Museum; reconstruction by B. Conticello)*



Laughter, food, then sex: No evidence indicates that this had been a cultic site, but Augustus emphasized the aura of antiquity already set by the Dionysiac frame, as if this were the habitation of water beings born long before the human race and a site honored by visiting humans in primitive votive forms. The inner cavern's mask sconces imitated the votives of caves where Pan and nymphs were worshiped at water sources. The rows of rough little niches laid into the entrance walls of the main cavern and the cave fissure beside the pool must have been meant for artificial images of little rustic ex-votos, such as that in the sophisticated villa grotto painted in the landscape salon from Boscoreale.⁷⁶ The epic core evokes that much-visited nymphs' cave at Ithaca, where Odysseus finally landed after ten years away. The inner suite's display niches also tagged it as an Odyssean idyllic cave, a *specus amoenus*. This might further develop the Ithacan *nymphaeum*,⁷⁷ or it could be the cave of Odysseus's year-long amorous idyll with the salvific nymph Calypso.⁷⁸ Asserting that this *was* a site where nymphs came gave female banqueters someone besides Scylla with whom to resonate. Idyllic caverns were where sea nymphs loved to cruise into shore to banquet and rest like the Roman elites who cruised the maritime villa landscape and imaginatively shared their movement and space. Women embodied nymphs' forms,⁷⁹ and men were invited to erotic quest of those nymphs, like Peleus surprising Thetis in her cavern bedroom.⁸⁰ Bathing in mixed company invited an erotic mood, and secluded crannies were

⁷⁶ On earlier, much-visited Greek grotto reliefs and votive niches, see Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture." On Republican eclectic versions of Greek votive plaques with Pan and nymphs, cf. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 178, fig. 189 (note the deliberately clunky Greek votive inscription). Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 71–72: Livia's portico decorated with *priscae tabellis* and "ancient-style [votive] tablets." On Boscoreale, see my "Looking outside Inside," 18–20, esp. 20. Note the carefully primitive archaistic style of the marble wall relief from Sperlonga, of the Julians' Venus Genetrix: Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 132, fig. 64. On pseudo-antique reliefs and their images in Roman houses, see Bettina Bergmann, "Exploring the Grove: Pastoral Space on Roman Walls," in *The Pastoral Landscape*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 21–48, esp. 36, 45, note 27 (1995) 103–4; see *Das Wrack* (as above, note 28), 19 ff., on shipping real antique reliefs from sanctuaries.

⁷⁷ Odysseus stowed the tripods the Phaeacians had given him here, and Augustan commemorative arts often stressed tripods of Augustus's patron, Apollo. If metal versions of these tripods were propped anywhere here, they provided a felicitous Augustan resonance.

⁷⁸ Previously, Pompey's Portico, a painted Calypso seated at her grotto with her lover or gazing at his embarkation (Pliny, *HN* 35.132). Its painter Nikias also did the famous *Visit of Odysseus to the Underworld*. Irene also painted Calypso: *HN* 35.137; Pamphilos painted Odysseus on the raft Calypso gave him: *HN* 35.36. Cf. Nikias's triad of watery heroines (a unitary display at Rome?): *Calypso and Io and Andromeda*. His *Danae* (*HN* 35.131), dedicated by Tiberius, perhaps showed her at seaside with her ark.

⁷⁹ This is why the Cyclops in Roman art and erotic poetry invites Galatea to drive her dolphin to his cave and Propertius so suspected his Cynthia's trips to Baia's seashore grottoes. See Andrew Riggsby, "'Private' and 'Public' in Roman Culture: The Case of the *Cubiculum*," in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 36–56, on rooms where patrons had few or no slaves present. *Cubicula* (46–77) hosted informal dress and speech and sexual intimacy, and invited suspicions of libidinous behavior, as did public baths, predicated by undress and the slippage between class and gender lines. The sensuality of immersion must have influenced this.

⁸⁰ Thetis's villa (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.229) has been adduced before for format. Thetis always came naked on her dolphin; here Peleus jumped her. Catullus had made Peleus and Thetis a core exemplum for a Roman noble couple in his influential marriage hymn (64). The embroidered bedcover supplies the other exemplum of seashore betrayal: Theseus stealing from Ariadne by ship, her lament to the waves about their voyage together, and then lovestruck Dionysos's arrival.

suggestive. Ovid wrote of Circe, in a love triangle initiated when the haughty girl was caught skinny-dipping, inflicting her monstrous form on Scylla at Scylla's favorite grotto.⁸¹ Hauled back among dressed company by the grinning satyr children, a male swimmer might have been teased like a salt-crusted Odysseus, surprised in his waterside sleeping shrubbery, veiling his private parts from Princess Nausicaa and her maidens.⁸²

Marble for Water

Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 4.550–62) addresses how any ambitious Augustan *dominus* might scatter the protagonists of painful sea stories at cliff and shore for aesthetic delight, and self-conscious sympathy of visitors makes us view a marble group of Ino's weeping women, petrified in wailing after Ino leapt into the sea, a *monimentum* of Juno's anger. Throughout the centuries, this iconic water garden was savored for staging epic water journeys where its great patrons impersonated a range of mythic heroes and for entering Rome's Trojan past. Though the villa's sculpture fragments are not completely catalogued, they document efforts to harmonize with the central marble epic, for more images postulate famous seas and lands and stories of bestial assault, heroic endeavor, and erotic adventure. Near the cave mouth, Ganymede hung crying in the talons of the enamored eagle Jove, as if the cliff over the Troy spits were Mount Ida. Part of the cave mouth crumbled upon the banqueting Tiberius. If that had been the front instead of the back salon, Ganymede might have been installed in thanks for Tiberius's delivery, rescued by Rome's Jove.⁸³ For another bestial assault, Andromeda was bound half-naked on her sea crag, perpetually awaiting the devour-

⁸¹ This story couples Cyclops with the nude Scylla wading at her cave. She is metamorphosed by a jealous Circe, who longs for the same fisherman lover and poisons the water (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.51–71, 725–903). On this man-eater's erotic aura, see Elena Walter-Karydi, "Dangerous Is Beautiful: The Elemental Quality of a Hellenistic Scylla," in *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture*, ed. Olga Palagia and William Coulson (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1998), 271–83. Cf. the pleasing rococo sculptures of the collection of Augustus's friend Asinius Pollio, which he gave to the portico of Octavia (Pliny, *HN* 36.33), including *Oceanus* and *Appiades* (Pliny, *HN* 35.114). The "noble" Hesione painting perhaps showed her rescue from a sea monster. The complex already had the *Bathing Venus of Doidalsas*, *HN* 36.35, and several standing Venuses undoubtedly bathed too.

⁸² On the sexiness of such places, see Alfred Frazer, "The Roman Villa and the Pastoral Ideal," in *The Pastoral Landscape* (as above, note 75), 49–61. Evoking Theocritus, he writes that the shell-coated grotto of Formiae's Villa of Cicero "is an erotic vessel waiting to be filled" (54); in comments (52–53) on Theocritus, *Idyll* 22, the monstrous, murderous boxer King Amycus caught basking in a sacro-idyllic landscape (cf. 11, Ficoroni Cist); cf. our cave's "aberrant version of the theme of *et in Arcadia ego*."

⁸³ Polychrome marble. For the exemplar by Leochares in the gardens of Pompey's portico, see my "Culture and History," 347; Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 132, fig. 63 (Andreae's Augustan date); *LIMC* 4 (1988), 154–69 s.v. (Sichtermann); Neudecker, *Skulpturenausstattung*, 233, Flavian, setting it in the niche to the right of the cave's mouth; Kunze, "Zur Datierung des Laokoon," 153 note 34. For herm of a youth in Phrygian cap, called by Andreae Ascanius, see Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 125; Martin Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis: Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (Heidelberg: Archäologie und Geschichte, 1999), 100, pl. 11. It could be Attis or Ganymede.

ing *cetos* to emerge from the waves, white flesh rigid with fear, unaware of Perseus's imminent salvific arrival from the sky.⁸⁴ (The *piscina* label *cetarium* playfully adduces inhabitation by such a sea dragon.) The terrain helped instantiate the myth. Surely she too was fixed to real rock over water. A traveler to the Levant or any well-read Roman knew that Jaffa's sea crag was still marked by her chains, the seaside spring still red with the blood cleaned from Perseus's blade.⁸⁵ In 58 B.C. Marcus Scaurus had fetched the sea monster's bones to Rome.⁸⁶

Augustus's family at a later villa at Boscotrecase commissioned now-famous pendant frescoes of Polyphemus and Andromeda on sea-girt rocks. These delicately eroticized fantasies also evoke Roman landmarks of eastern and western sea voyages, perhaps even echo Sperlonga's conceits⁸⁷ by affording optical voyage between Asia and Hesperia. Moving into

⁸⁴ Andromeda/Hesione: Neudecker, *Skulpturenausstattung*, 222 note 62.27; Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 133, Flavian. My comparison is from Euripides' *Andromeda* (frag. 125 Nauck); Aratus in the *Phainomena* beloved of Republican and Augustan (court) readers, makes her a sculpture. See M. Possanza, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 99.09.07, review of Douglas Kidd, ed., *Aratus: Phaenomena* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For Roman versions of Nikias's *Perseus Unchaining Andromeda* (Pliny, *HN* 35.40.132), see Bergmann, "Greek Masterpieces," 79–107, esp. 95–96, fig. 6. All others posited the similarly chained Hesione for a Troy theme but she barely appears in Greco-Roman art and literature (*contra* cf. note 81). Whenever they did, Andromeda and Ganymede made witty antitheses about danger and desire, both loved by magical flyers, threatened by *monstra* like Odysseus's companions below. Dinner: Ganymede was headed for a career as divine cupbearer, and Andromeda was intended for the *cetus*'s dinner.

⁸⁵ The Flavian Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 3.419–20, describes this treat for an eastern periplus. The text is based on early writers like Poseidonius with whom Roman audiences were familiar. From Caesarea nearby, Herod must have shown it to visiting Roman allies. Pausanias, 4.35.9, notes Perseus's spring: "Red water, in color like blood . . . close to the sea [like Sperlonga], and the account that the natives give of the spring is that Perseus, after destroying the sea-monster . . . washed off the blood in the spring."

⁸⁶ Pliny, *HN* 9.11: "Marcus Scaurus as aedile exhibited, among other miraculous remains, the bones of the water beast to which Andromeda is said to have been exposed, shipped to Rome from the Judean town of Jaffa—40 feet long, higher than an Indian elephant, its backbone six spans thick"; see also Solinus, 34.2. Augustus probably acquired these *reliqua miracula* for his garden museum at Capri; see Suetonius, *Augustus* 92: "[T]he extraordinarily great pieces of sea and land beasts (*belvae* and *ferae*), what they call 'giants' bones,' and the arms of heroes." On both passages, see Bodel, "Monumental Villas," 19. Cf. our compellingly real reconstruction of mythical monsters; both make fantasized gameparks.

⁸⁷ An almost certain imitation was Pytheos's silver banquet dish priced at 10,000 *denarii* (Pliny, *HN* 34.157): Its central *emblema* was Odysseus and Diomedes stealing the Palladium. All note that including Odysseus in the theft narrative was unusual. Only an ossuary from Antonine Turkey is extant (Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 123, fig. 47). However, the project about *virtus* on the Megiste Ostothek is borne out by how the rest of the marble box has heroic, national imagery (e.g. Victory and the Shield from imperial iconography). Stewart, "To Entertain an Emperor," 80, adduces 3d-style (Augustan) mythological paintings. Each pair (Troy and voyage; *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) is like the two-step narrative invented for this fresco genre; see Peter von Blanckenhagen and Christine Alexander, *The Augustan Villa at Boscotrecase* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1990). The murals at Boscotrecase, associated with Julia's son, Augustus's grandson Agrippa Postumus, seem to have been painted in the first decade B.C. or the first decade A.D.; von Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *The Augustan Villa*. Polyphemus tends goats as Galatea swims, and in the background he hurls rocks at Odysseus's fleeing ship. Perseus and the sea monster converge on Andromeda, and at his palace Perseus clasps hands with her father Cepheus in the background.

the later empire, the *Argo* carved to the left of the cave sought Circe's palace at nearby Circei or rested on its voyage back east from her island.⁸⁸ Visiting here was still a privilege. Book in hand, an admiring later visitor made the owner an Ovidian epigram to be carved onto the ship. The late antique Faustinus "vergilianized" the cave with a ten-line poem on a marble plaque.⁸⁹ Another elite visitor of the fourth century A.D. was the owner of the villa of Piazza Armerina in Sicily. In imitation of feasts that still likely were being staged at Sperlonga, he turned one apsidal room into a mosaic version of Polyphemus's drinking bout and the apse floor into a cave arch. The Church fathers exploited Scylla and Odysseus's oceanic travails as parables at least to the fifth century. Christian connoisseurs made sculptures on this model for their own favorite myth of salvation from marine monsters and shipwreck. From the Sperlonga Scylla, they borrowed the motifs of the victims around her waist for their marble Jonah, who was swallowed and then regurgitated by his "sea dragon," the whale.⁹⁰

What was the artistic context for these conceptions? For the first century B.C., the maritime villa zone supplied numinous and lighthearted sea images of Neptune and his tritons and nereids.⁹¹ They governed pools and caves, like Capri's Blue Grotto and another court villa.⁹² All such commissions playfully translated triumphalist display at Rome. For the Temple of Neptune,⁹³ sometime between 120 and 90 B.C., a Republican admiral ordered a fabulous marble sea *thiasos* that cast him as its Achilles being brought by Thetis and

⁸⁸ After Apollonius's Hellenistic *Argonautica*, a plot read intensely at Rome; the Argonauts took her salvific advice before returning east. Strabo, 5.2.6: The island of Aethalia, which is en route to Volaterrae, has an *Argo* beach because Jason disembarked when Medea visited Kirke. Its beach pebbles are congealed from the oil and sweat of the Argonauts' strigils.

⁸⁹ Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 126–27, 140–42, 164–65. On Faustinus, see Green, "Pergamon and Sperlonga," 181–82, marble plaque, and Weis, "Sperlonga and Hellenistic Sculpture," 418; Stewart, "To Entertain an Emperor," 78; Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 133; De Grummond, "Gauls and Giants," 271, *Argo* inscription.

⁹⁰ For Jonah cycle contexts in 2d- and 3d-century images of maritime life, see Sichtermann (241–48) and Brandenburg (249–56), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum: Ausstellung im Liebieghaus, Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main: 16 Dezember 1983 bis 11 März 1984* (Frankfurt: Das Liebieghaus, 1983), also 258, 612–23. A wonderful *nymphaeum* sculpture set (Cleveland Museum: Cornelius Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981], color pl. 18, 224–29, cat. no. 189) amasses Jonah swallowed, spat out (cf. sarcophagus with ship: Strong, *Roman Art*, fig. 219), sleeping under the gourd vine, and rejoicing with portraits of the patron couple.

⁹¹ Mimicked as painted immersion in a little-known (lost) water hall, ca. 45–30 B.C., Villa of Diomedes (Pompeii). Lifesize tritons and nereids (Galatea story?) disported around blue walls. Room 5, a sunken salon off the atrium, was distinguished by its staircase as a fictive grotto. A. and M. De Vos, *Pompeii Ercolano Stabia*, 2d ed. (Bari: Laterza, 1988), 243, 244 (plan). The villa was built for sea views. See Mielsch, *Villa romana*, 40–41, 147.

⁹² At the natural and excavated cavern *piscinae* at Sorrento for the Augustan Prince Agrippa Postumus (cf. Boscotrecase, as above, note 86), a cupola with sculpture niches lit an underground pool (Room H), which was reached by boat (cf. Cumae, note 45); Mielsch, *Villa romana*, 119–20, fig. 86. Cf. Strong, *Roman Art*, fig. 219 (PECS, s.v.), Baia, Republican or Augustan Temple of Mercury. The enormous rotunda built into the hill had sculpture niches, an *oculus*, and upper windows, with pendant *nymphaea* on its axis. A later water hall was excavated leading from it.

⁹³ *LTUR* 3 (1996), s.vv. "Neptuni aedes in Circo" and "in Campo" (A. Viscogliosi).

her nereids, riding to Troy over sea from Vulcan's Sicilian workshop. Thetis must have held Homer's fabulous shield, which mapped Earth within Ocean.⁹⁴ For his victories over Mithridates, Pompey erected for Venus Victrix two masterpiece Europas, each rapt over Ocean on her lustful Jupiter-bull, signifying Europe's conquest of Asia. Importantly for Sperlonga's public veneer, Odyssey sculpture existed in the same garden portico, ca. 55 to 52 B.C.⁹⁵ Augustan poetry praised this fountain group of the Thessalian King Maro, also a priest, drunk with the same potent wine that the Cyclops drank.⁹⁶ Sicily's monuments already showed famous Odyssean displays, surely to inspire Pompey and Augustus. Messina's Scylla overlooked her own straits. Hiero's admired palace at Syracuse set up Odysseus and his men using Polyphemus's rams to escape the Sicilian cave.⁹⁷ By early first century B.C., private mansions in Italy displayed epic groups, some in marble from the east.⁹⁸

Sperlonga thus has a public, nationalist context. Competing with earlier outstanding public and private displays, it distinctively combines a real situational terrain, ambitious multifigure complexity, and multiple episodes about one protagonist, which makes it different from anything previously known. Sperlonga is said to instantiate those "wanderings of Ulysses in places" that Vitruvius writes were favored for house frescoes and to echo the *Iliad* mosaics of Hiero's Syracusan yacht. Those were assigned a moral aim to instill courage in soldier-voyagers.⁹⁹ The Sperlonga sculptures have been missing from studies of Augustan political art in recent decades; yet no observer could have missed the visual and situational resemblance to exemplary catastrophe and quest stories, including water monsters at pools, that dominated Augustan commemorative at Rome after the civil wars.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Pliny, *HN* 36.26; for bibliog., see my "Ara Domitii Ahenobarbi," 207. The patron and *hortus* owners who imitated his display resurrected Plato's Temple of Neptune at Atlantis, *Kritias*, 116, d-e: "[T]he God standing on a chariot and driving six winged horses, his own figure so tall as to touch the ridge of the roof, and round about him a hundred [n]ereids on dolphins." For similar frescoed private spaces, cf. the Thetis triad in the Domus Uboni (Room N, illus. in Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narrative*, 67); *LIMC* 6 (1992), s.v. "Nereid" VI no. 407; my "Ara Domitii Ahenobarbi," note 51.

⁹⁵ Also Antiphilos's *Europa*; Pliny, *HN* 35.114.

⁹⁶ Propertius, 2.32.14–16; See my "Culture and History," 356–57, noting Maro's *heroon* on a lake by a stream called Odysseon (Strabo, frag. 7.44–45) at the much-visited Thracian Maroneia. This resembles the Cyclops whose drunkenness Maro enabled, as he gave this wine to Odysseus, who in turn gave it to the Cyclops.

⁹⁷ On the piglets found here, see Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 132, taken to represent bits of a group of the Lavinian sow or nymph dedications, but perhaps Circe. Rams are at other Sicilian sites also. Catania may have claimed the cave, which Hiero's palace then restaged. Surely, Sicily already had a cave with the Cyclops's nightmare banquet. See R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire: The Making of a Roman Province, 36 B.C.–A.D. 535* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1990), 19, and app. 2, 343 ff. Domitian added this escape episode at Castel Gandolfo.

⁹⁸ See Ridgway, "The Sperlonga Sculptures," 85, terra-cottas near Tivoli and Chieti; Odysseus head, fig. 84 (Steingraber, "Pergamene Influences," 238, adding the Aachen Odysseus head, fig. 85); under-life-size Achilles and Odysseus (for Achilles' unmasking at Skyros? not *contra*, Ridgway "heroic scale"), Antikythera shipwreck, designed: Nikolaus Himmelmann, *Sperlonga: Die homerischen Gruppen*, 35, figs. 36–37, to be set against a wall as instant high relief.

⁹⁹ This was the aim of the mural of the Argonauts Agrippa installed in the *saeptra* (voting precinct), a pendant to the Caledonian boar hunt; *LTUR* s.vv. "Porticus Argonautorum" and "Porticus Meleagri."

¹⁰⁰ At a major entrance to the forum (note 30, its naval trophies), Agrippa's bronze Hydra rose from the

Modern sensibilities cavil at choosing among lofty, erotic, and blackly humorous readings. Is this a monster park or a “freak show”?¹⁰¹ But Roman house arts, like its literature, addressed a spectrum from the moral to the thrilling, to satisfy any mood of those living with such art for days or months. The qualities of thrilling spectacle and cultured content *could* generically illuminate Roman display. However, the hosts were emperors, and this grotto established the iconic decoration of an imperial villa. In imitation of the deified Augustus,¹⁰² Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Hadrian left replicas of the Polyphemus or Scylla groups in *nymphaea* at Baia,¹⁰³ the Palatine,¹⁰⁴ Castel Gandolfo,¹⁰⁵ and Tivoli. These emperors as well as Augustus must have believed the lagoon denoted Augustus’s best qualities, since Romans held that a patron’s communally directed private displays also delineated public character.¹⁰⁶

For the Augustan period, Sperlonga’s iconic status is matched by the replication of the *Laocoön* (Fig. 6), whose original was from the same workshop.¹⁰⁷ Bernard Andreae under-

Lacus Servilia (*LTUR*, s.v.). The statue (statues if Hercules’ was here) was about crushing the multiheaded monsters of civil conflict. It damnably re-created the earlier Sullan proscriptions (*LTUR*), when the heads of “legally” murdered Romans hung dripping at this pool. For other pain art (e.g., Danaids at the Temple of Apollo Palatinus), see most recently Karl Galinsky, 220–22; for Niobids on its doors, Propertius, 2.32; and at the Temple of Apollo, Sossianus, Pliny, *HN* 36.28. Cf. Niobid *tondi* from the Mahdia wreck (thus at the latest 80 B.C.): *Das Wrack* (as above, note 28), 336 f.

¹⁰¹ Cf. fish surrounding the Scylla of Androkides to Kyzikos. Writers who assembled anecdotes in the frame of dinner stories attributed this species catalogue to the painter’s fondness for eating them (Plutarch, *Moralia* 665d; Athenaios 341A). On elite spending to display deformed people, not least for banquets, see Robert Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), chap. 3. His images include the Cyclops.

¹⁰² Even without masonry dates, this replication damns the Tiberian origin theses. Builders of any famous Roman dwelling were remembered. No successor wanted comparison to this problematic personage; similarly for the spread of Scylla and Cyclops replicas into the eastern Mediterranean in civic contexts. The anecdote of Tacitus, *Annales* 4.59, and Suetonius, *Tiberius* 39, are only about Tiberius using this place.

¹⁰³ See Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae*, for bibliog. Claudian, this water-floored little “basilica” had the Cyclops at the end. Other images, including imperial portraits, were along the sides.

¹⁰⁴ Irene Iacopi, *Domus Aurea* (Milan: Electa, 1999), 13, figs. 11, 12: *nymphaeum* vaulted with fake rock (Room 45); central octagon *emblema*, glass mosaic of Ulysses offering Polyphemus the cup.

¹⁰⁵ *PECS*, s.v.; s.v. *Ulisse* (Ninfeo Bergantino); Neudecker, *Skulpturenausstattung*, 44–45. This grotto also has a large circular pool and several smaller side fissures. It had a Scylla and Polyphemus and his flock.

¹⁰⁶ T. P. Wiseman, “*Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo*: The Public Image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire,” in *L’Urbs: Espace urbain et histoire* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1987), 393–413; for further bibliog., see Bodel, “Monumental Villas.”

¹⁰⁷ Bodel, “Monumental Villas,” 6: “[P]hysical structure served as a memorial to the man who had lived there”; (13) when it “combined with the cultic adoration of a great man, the result was an almost mystical reverence for the property,” as with Augustus’s other homes; see 18 f. on the status of whatever counted as prior owners’ war memorials. This iconicity accounts for Sperlonga’s careful preservation into the 4th century and probably beyond. An immense number of fragments did not weather or meet damage until systematically broken up; the way in which the pieces of our cycle were hurled into the pool (Andreae, *Praetorium Speluncae*, 56–57: monastery site) and not burned for lime implies the kind of ritually cleansing destruction, esp. decapitation and the deposit of heads as here, visited on other late antique villas by Christian owners in or after the Theodosian age. Cf. D. Vaquerizo Gil and J. R. Carillo Diaz-Pines, “The Roman Villa of El Ruedo (Aledinilla, Cordoba),” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995): 144, on the destruction of two water sculpture cycles (central



6. A much reproduced image from the classical world: Laocoön and his sons under attack by snakes (height 1.84 m; courtesy of the Vatican Museum, nos. 1059, 1064, 1067)

stood it as a nationalist exemplar, though Sperlonga's Odysseus was not read in that way.¹⁰⁸ Pliny (*HN* 36.37) praised the lost original in the reception area near the atrium of Titus's palace. In Renaissance Rome, fragmentary Laocoöns, from miniatures to larger than Sperlonga's, resurfaced.¹⁰⁹ The new Augustan date for Sperlonga confirms Andreae's thesis:

court basin, Attis, son of the River Gallus); water dining room (134–37), the *Rescue of Andromeda*, *Hypnos* (they rightly compare Ovid's *Grotto of Sleep*). I add Ovid's *Salmacis*, a Hermaphrodite. Ambrose's anti-heretic Scylla metaphors for the Emperor Gratian adduce imperial *spelunca* (*De fide* 1.6.47).

¹⁰⁸ On Andreae's work, see Brunilde Ridgway, "Laokoon and the Foundation of Rome," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989): 171–81; and R. R. R. Smith, *Gnomon* 63 (1991): 351–58. Richard Brilliant, *My Laocoön: Alternative Claims in the Interpretation of Artworks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Richard Neudecker, "Laokoongruppe," *Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol. 6 (1999), 1135–37. Add Brunilde Ridgway, "The Farnese Bull (Punishment of Dirke) from the Baths of Caracalla: How Many Prototypes?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999): 512–20; Pollitt, "The Phantom of a Rhodian School?"

¹⁰⁹ On these replicas, see M. Koortbojian, "Pliny's Laocoön?" in *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, ed. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 199–216. On the nonidentity of ours with Pliny's, thus not Sperlonga's *atelier*, see Fred Albertson, "Pliny and the Vatican Laocoon," *Römische Mitteilungen* 100 (1993): 133–40. The head is located at or near the Augustan-era Baths of Agrippa, and the provenance of many is the bath or villa zone. One can list (a) the palace of Titus, Pliny, *HN* 36.37, and other images "in the atrium of Emperor Titus," *HN* 34.55; (b) Esquiline Baths of Trajan, now Belvedere,

like Vergil's, the carved Laocoön is gripping narrative, Augustus's special emblem for the historical *fata romana* through all travails, Rome's ultimate victory, imaged in the fall of that prophet, who would have averted Troy's ruin by stopping the entry of the Trojan Horse.¹¹⁰ This workshop specialized in agonized, serpentine deaths descended from Pergamon's Great Altar. Sperlonga shares the Laocoön's portentous aura of exemplary myth-history. It nudges us to see the Laocoön as a water sculpture about water monsters, not just a parallel story tied to another device, the horse of wily Odysseus.

The place and moment, as Vergil (*Aeneid* 2.201–27) describes them, were when fantastically colored serpents rushed from the ocean to attack Laocoön as he was making a sacrifice to Neptune on his beach altar. Roman design habits suggest that it commanded a pool vista, so activating it implied a shoreline setting, whether in Augustus's palace or at the public water garden at the Campus Martius. Titus's *Laocoön* must have been imperial patrimony, since the Flavians restored nonimperial works Nero appropriated. The vestibule location signals that its patronage history was exemplary. Titus's *Laocoön* must have been Augustus's (if Pliny meant the Palatine atrium of any sitting emperor) or a programmatic replica of that site (if Pliny meant Titus's separate *domus*). Augustus's palace had an ostentatiously Republican atrium with an *impluvium* pool,¹¹¹ which perhaps the *Laocoön* governed.¹¹² So, apparently, the Prima Porta Augustus was first glimpsed across the *impluvium* pool of his wife's villa,¹¹³ as if striding out of the surf, Amor on a dolphin beside him, back from world conquests imaged on his cuirass.

Being Odysseus and Being Good

The *Aeneid* imitated Odysseus's wanderings past the caves of the Scylla and Cyclops. Sperlonga's Odysseus is carved like Vergil's protagonist, who exemplified *virtus* and *pietas*. Artists often focus on Odysseus's problematic roles. Ancient and modern writers alike ponder his ambiguous character and impute to him responsibility for his comrades' deaths.

Koortbojian, *passim*; (c–d) Esquiline, Baths of Titus(?), 204; (e) 206; (f) ruins of Agrippa's baths; (g) 207, under Santa Pudenziana, Esquiline(?); and (h) 206, under the Ospedale of S. Giovanni in Laterano; and (i) 215 n. 83.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Augustus's Actian monument in Sparta for another famous seer connected with a sea triumph. The monument appropriated a bronze *Agias*, who "by divining for Lysander captured the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami" (Pausanias, 3.11.5).

¹¹¹ See my "Culture and History," 10, on Suetonius, *Augustus* 92.10.

¹¹² See George, "Elements of the Peristyle," 85, on politicized tableaux in atria (Hercules and Persian). Apuleius's *Metamorphosis* (2.4) confirms that early imperial atria liked to showcase with real water exciting disasters (cf. note 54), here Actaeon at Diana's grotto, viewed at the entrance; Niall Slater, "Passion and Petrifaction: The Gaze in Apuleius," *Classical Philology* 93 (1998): 18–35.

¹¹³ Modern-day excavators have reconstructed the statue on a framed base at the far end of the atrium: "The first thing that would have met the gaze of a visitor entering the fauces . . . accentuated and framed by the columns around the impluvium." A. Klynne and P. Liljenstolpe, "Where to Put Augustus? A Note on the Placement of the Prima Porta Statue," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1998): 121–28, esp. 125–26. The dolphin nosedives into the implied sands, as Augustus reaches Italy in the perpetual *adventus* from east and west imaged on his cuirass (my "Hellenistic Images of Spectacle," 118).

Previous readings of Sperlonga refer in abstracted and partial ways to Homeric Greek and Roman texts instead of addressing the autonomous visual discourse of this visual epic. Sperlonga emphasizes Odysseus's *virtus* and *pietas*, selfless courage, loyally taking the brunt of danger to rescue companions. Altering traditional compositions, the designers emphasized that Odysseus strives with all the *cura* possible for his companions' *salus*.¹¹⁴ Such actions won a soldier the *corona civica* from the senate, which was displayed over Augustus's door for saving a nation. The exemplary value of this narrative for a *princeps* and *imperator* needs no explanation. The *Laocoön* shows how Augustus was interested in commissioning nationally iconic baroque sculpture that brought the heroic age alive to a world invaded from threatening seas. Startlingly, no scholar has commented on how in meaning and baroque multigure style ours suggests the *virtus* and *pietas* images of Romulus and Aeneas in Augustus's Forum.¹¹⁵

This program also looks to the present and "our" Rome, and eventually to Augustus's home there. The connecting element is the Palladium, whose theft guaranteed Troy's "fortunate" fall when the first of the Julii led the Trojans to Italy, as Augustus's public sculpture at Rome reminded viewers. Supposedly, this sculpture, which Sperlonga's copied, was an amuletic *pignus imperii* (talisman of rule) hidden in Vesta's temple, which Aeneas, Augustus's ancestor, brought to Latium. Caesar erected a statue of this, which its lunging heroes recall. By 12 B.C., Augustus put up another replica at his house shrine to Vesta. His villa's little doll also suggested Augustus's urban palace where that icon was venerated.¹¹⁶ Thus my points of departure and return are the ultimate narrative and geographic end of what we see.

The archaeological dating of ca. 30 B.C. and the marbles' iconography mean that they were probably erected after Augustus's first sea campaign. In 36 B.C., off this western Italian coast, Agrippa broke the fleets of the monster Sextus Pompey, whose Sicilian warships had almost starved Rome into submission. Sextus had minted coins of the famous Scylla statue, a marker to ships at Messana on the straits.¹¹⁷ Long popular in Italy and Sicily, the *Cyclopeia*

¹¹⁴ In Pliny and Pausanias, Hellenistic and Roman Odyssean subjects are the tricking of Achilles at Skyros: the quarrel with Ajax for Achilles' arms; Odysseus's part in maneuvering Philoctetes; and his role in the sacrifice of Iphigenia. He is usually not the protagonist. The Cyclops group eschews the standard tricky offering of wine. The brave leader improvises and wields a spear, a more manly trick. Odysseus is not in the standard Palladium theft. Odysseus in battle is not documented. Scylla: Single statues existed; little record of any prior imagery, none in texts and outside Italy, exists to delineate confrontation with the ship *contra* Andreae. See Weis, "Sperlonga and Hellenistic Sculpture," and "Odysseus at Sperlonga."

¹¹⁵ E.g., not by M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, or any author in *From Pergamon* (as above, note 40). See Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 125 f., on the problem of Odysseus.

¹¹⁶ De Grummond, "Gauls and Giants," 269–70, understands localizing to Italy. Sperlonga is ignored in texts on Augustus's Palatine house cult of 12 B.C. and his Palladium statue, which may predate this Vesta cult.

¹¹⁷ Proverbial already in Cicero's day; *Pro Sextio* 8.18 compares a debtor chased to the Maenian column by moneylenders to someone escaping shipwreck at this Scylla column, making for the safe harbor of the tribuneship. Analogy to piracy but not to Sextus has been made; Sextus's Sicilian coinage of 42–40 B.C., *RRC* 511/3, a marine trophy, whose cuirass is like a Scylla body, her dog-fish head emerging from it; *RRC* 511/4, Scylla slinging a rudder, reverse: the lighthouse of Messana with its guardian Neptune. Bibliog. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 215. This monument should be linked to the Syracusan Golden Age in the 3d century B.C. In this common type, Scylla flails with a torn-off rudder at unseen enemies as her dog heads snarl at prey. As

by Augustus's day was even danced as a mime.¹¹⁸ But here the amusing banquet *emblema* embodies Ciceronian comparisons of predatory leaders to Sicilian Cyclops. Octavian had met Sextus on the harbor mole of Baia and dined at his own Misenum harbor on Sextus's ship when they made their earlier unsuccessful treaty (Velleius, 2.77). Coming from Rome's Naulochus trophies¹¹⁹ to dine with Augustus, no one would have missed seeing in the *piscina* monsters¹²⁰ the taming and spoliation of both the Sicilian predator and his images.¹²¹ Similarly, Augustus's rededication of the Portico of Pompey meant he publicly took over the Pompeys' proto-Cyclopean group of the salvific Maro. Because later replicas tended to the variant where Odysseus is offering the cup to the Cyclops, Augustus likely had a commemorative one at Rome. It could override the Sperlonga model as an icon on a par with the Laocoön. That a public Scylla also existed is suggested not only by its afterlife around the empire but also by its presence among the *spolia* that Constantine programmatically transferred to his new Rome.¹²²

You, Muses, refresh, re-create in Pierian cavern great Caesar, asking to end his labors, right as he returns to their forts his levies just now released.¹²³

In 31 B.C. Augustus and Agrippa smashed the combined navies of Antony and Cleopatra

Sextus used her, she is a guardian image of Sicily as indestructible and is able to devour any sea invasion. For Sextus's own Neptune persona, cf. Velleius, 2.77, and Florus, 2.18.4, on how he made much of his father Pompey's house: "At the Keels," "In Carinae" (cf. Pompey's own pirate triumphs). Cf. also the city of Scyllaceum, founded by Odysseus, on straits in happy proximity to the family's shore palace of Cassiodorus, *Ep.* 15.

¹¹⁸ See note 58.

¹¹⁹ On the Forum, which was dominated by the nude golden Octavian; upon a column decorated with anchors and *rostra*, rams of Sextus's fleet after Actium; on coins from 29 to 27 B.C. See Murray and Petsas, *Octavian's Campsite Memorial* (as above, note 30), 117, fig. 63. For Naulochus, Octavian invented the *corona rostrata* to reward his admiral Agrippa with a crown studded with ship beaks. Murray and Petsas are correct (72, note 78) that the Syracusan bronze Corinthian capitals for Agrippa's Pantheon (Pliny, *HN* 34.13) were cast from Sextus's rams.

¹²⁰ Fish from the sea landed at his feet as he strolled the beach before dinner. See Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 97. Cf. the mad sea beast hunt after Actium and its 36 crocodiles in a flooded Circus Flaminius: Dio, 55.10.8.

¹²¹ On Augustus's stern reordering of Sicily, historicizing commemoratives there for Naulochus and their numismatic advertisement, see Wilson, *Sicily* (as above, note 98), cat. no. 104, 643, pl. 15.14; Walter Trillmich, in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik: Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 7 Juni–14 August 1988* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1988), 507–8, s.v. cat. no. 324, discussing Octavian's coins about his rostral column.

¹²² Sarah Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 91; Kunze, "Zur Datierung des Laokoon," 189 note 175, with bibliog.; Weis, "Odysseus at Sperlonga," 117.

¹²³ Horace, *Odes*, 3.4.21–24, 37–40, praying in the years after Actium for this Hercules-like emperor to visit him in the coastal as well as inland villa zones. Perhaps it was for his own accession that Nero moved Odysseus from an ancient multigure group by Onatas at Olympia for display at Rome. On Greeks casting lots to combat Hector, see Pausanias, 5.25.8.

at Actium; that meaning accreted to our series even if it preceded Actium.¹²⁴ Inventing our stunning marble boat fight recalls the equally novel public spectacle Augustus made by flooding the Circus Maximus for miniaturized war galleys.¹²⁵ The omen for Naulochus was a self-delivered fish dinner at Augustus's villa, maybe this one. A well-omened disaster animated Augustus's sculpture group at Actium proper.¹²⁶

So pleasant, when the winds whip the waters on a great sea, / from the land to watch another man's great *labor*; not because it is a pleasure, to be relished, that anyone should suffer / but because it is soothing to make out what evils you yourself lack. / So pleasant, even, to watch the huge clashes of battle / ordered along the plains, with no share of your own in danger. / But nothing is sweeter than to hold, well fortified, / by the taught doctrines of the wise, *templa serena*; from which, look down, see any others, everywhere / wander, and looking for the road of life / fighting with cleverness, struggling with *nobilitas*, / night and day, with outstanding *labor* / trying to come out on the peaks of wealth and to govern affairs. (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.1–8)

Odyssean trouble by sea, Iliadic battle by land: All the public references aided ironically in the soothing qualities of inhabitation here.¹²⁷ All the suspense leading to Augustus's naval victories and the tragic loss of Roman lives from all factions informed the first reactions to the Sperlonga series. It exposed inner motions it meant perennially to serve. *Otium* relaxed virtuously active citizens for further exertion. This spectacle of pain must have intended catharsis, replaying and yet distancing its viewers' travails in the fraught aftermath of civil war.¹²⁸ The Roman bath before dinner soothed both body and spirit, as did

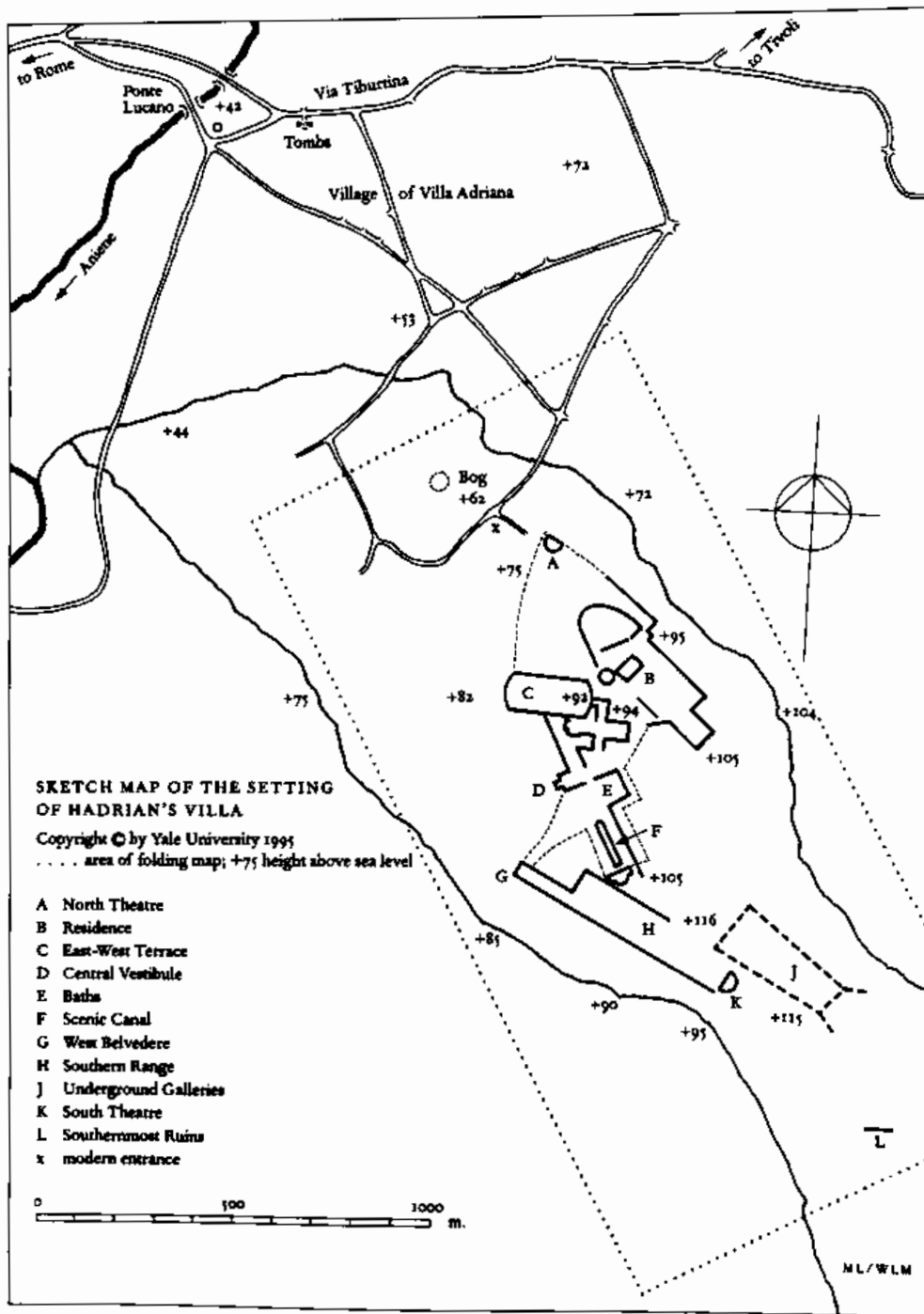
¹²⁴ Like reviewers for Robert Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), I disbelieve that Augustus neither wished to stress his Actian victories nor associate his Apollo monuments with Naulochus or Actium. See James Clauss, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 96.9.7 [review]. Much Augustan pain art was created to mediate the aftermath of civil conflict in the 40s and 30s.

¹²⁵ Restaged at contemporary villas: in Horace, *Epodes* 1.18.61–64, Lollius and his brother made slaves handle the little boats; my “Hellenistic Images of Spectacle,” 118; Kathleen Coleman, “Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 49–50, 55–56, 72.

¹²⁶ At Nikopolis, which was founded so as to overlook the bay, Augustus put a bronze group of the portent met inspecting his ships beforehand: a man, Eutycho (Lucky), driving an ass, Nikon (Victor) (see Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 96.2; Plutarch, *Antony* 65.3). Visual evidence shows that Eutycho fell at the emperor's feet; quoted in the reliefs on Trajan's Column is the pictogram of a man falling before the emperor. How meaningful this was is evident because this *monstrum* of the principate was hauled off by Constantine to Constantinople (Zonaras 10.30) after his 326 naval victory.

¹²⁷ For *Le tranquille dimore degli dei*, E. La Rocca quoted Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 3.17–23, about the gods' untroubled *sedes quietae* (sunlit abodes) as a historiated metaphor for the *hortus*. In Bk. 2's proem it is significant that humans are urged toward *templa serena*. The opening vista is in the language of elevated villa forms and prospects, including (after Homer, *Odyssey* 7.100–102, on the Phaeacian palace) watered and flowering gardens, to look after body and soul with pleasure, by streams and under trees (20–36 at 24–33).

¹²⁸ On staging visual spectacles of pain suffered by one's “good” contemporaries, see my “Hellenistic Images of Spectacle,” 116; on Antony's display of Caesar's bloody robes and image, 111, *toga praetexta* drama. For the harbor imaged by the lagoon as metaphor for rest at seaside villas, see Bergmann, “Painted Perspec-



7. Schematic plan of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli: Key (lower left) indicates F as the marker for the scenic canal discussed in text (from MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995]; reproduced with permission of the authors)

the cooling water pleasures of this marine dining room. The simultaneous immersion in strong emotion afforded by the visually delightful epic might have strengthened the well-being of survivors, who drank and laughed before these scarifying scenes.¹²⁹ Distancing turmoil in a mythic past likely assisted that process of memory and forgetting, turning history into the safely sequestered past so that the soul could survive. That identification and consolation were consummated by moving in this water. Reaching a little island of present contentment, a banqueter on a safe raft mimicked Odysseus's most arduous, solitary voyage. A swimmer acted out the hero's penultimate pain when he had to swim naked to the shores of Phaeacia. But then Odysseus was refreshed at King Alcinous's fabulously gardened palace, Homeric paradigm for all villas, to be dispatched to his own home. Comforting paradox informed these images for these elite Italian viewers, who so often endured by water journey distance from home and family. At Sperlonga, they *were* home.

Why Tivoli: Hadrian, Augustus, and Hercules

All imperial property remained permanently in imperial hands, so when Hadrian succeeded to office, he owned and enjoyed every preceding imperial villa, including Sperlonga. That optional peregrination between shore and shelter illuminates the layout of Hadrian's estate (Fig. 7). At Tivoli, Hadrian chose to acquire a slightly elevated table in the valley flats and its late Republican villa rather than a popular ravine and cascade site.¹³⁰ His project to rework it spanned his reign and was noted in his biography.¹³¹ He remade this landscape to give it more emphatic vertical relief and sometimes to level natural undulation. For the water garden he did both.

William MacDonald and John Pinto have shown how this declivity¹³² is the principal

tives," 64. For ship images as votives for marine labor or catastrophe survived, see *Das Wrack* (as above, note 28), 70–75, notes 13, 14.

¹²⁹ Imagine them passing around these stunning gems with Augustus as Neptune. On the Boston intaglio, Neptune–Octavian strikes at his drowning enemy (*Kaiser Augustus*, 467, cat. no. 247; Zanker, *Power of Images*, fig. 82). In the Vienna cameo, Octavian celebrates triumph in a real costume on a *quadriga* drawn by tritons, who brandish political emblems (see my *Dynasty and Empire*, fig. 19; *Kaiser Augustus*, 466–67, cat. no. 246; Zanker, *Power of Images*, fig. 81). These are the only two extant. Since both are from Hadrumetum in North Africa, they must have been shipped. Were they naval badges or amulets? Cf. note 30 and Tonio Hölscher, "Actium und Salamis," *Römische Mitteilungen* 99 (1984): 187–214.

¹³⁰ MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 137; Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 142–50. Republican nucleus, MacDonald and Pinto, 33–37, figs. 21, 22, late 2d and early 1st century B.C., renovated ca. 50 B.C. with Augustan touches, the new palace adapted its orientation, footprint, and concepts. This villa already had interesting *nymphaea*, its plan "generated from the *nymphaeum*-to-*nymphaeum* core axis." On the physical site and its reshaping, see 24–37; on sculptures, 7, 141–45.

¹³¹ *SHA* 26.5; see note 174. 23.8, his hemorrhage here; 25.5–8, once Cicero's, his villa at Puteoli where he died, was buried, and a funerary temple was built for him (27.2–3); 15.5, walking in his *viridarium* (garden) at Tarragona; 26.2, his fondness for riding and *ambulatio*, which included exercise at villa gardens. See also notes 145, 150.

¹³² The dignified, more public reference was established by the two images of worshipers, a priest and a sacrificing figure, and the portraits of the Severan Empress Julia Domna, an unidentified man and a child, and Hadrian. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, replaced Renaissance toponyms with labels architecturally

reception precinct in the normative itinerary from the palace's vestibule, where "the artistic spirit of the [v]illa is best contemplated." Thus the typical *domus* visitors' ritual of entrance, bath, and banquet took Hadrian and his subjects from a monumental entrance building past large baths to banquet at an artificial channel watered from a stylized cavern (Figs. 8–10). An immensely elongated pool stretched between the pavilion and entrance, whose arcaded lattice framed the pool's curved front. Casts of warriors and Amazons in those intercolumniations let visitors savor their silhouettes and reflections. Walkways, roofed at left and open at right, led to the great triple pavilion fronted by its own still ponds. (The option of a sunny or shaded *ambulatio* was traditional.) The pavilion (Figs. 11, 12) was both a destination and a belvedere from which to gaze down the pool along one's traverse. In its center, a great apsidal space screened by columns made a water cave where diners lay on a stone couch, which took cushions at need.¹³³ Here, cooled by water runnels falling from the wall behind, along, and before the couch's flanks, guests drank while contemplating the vistas of their prior and eventual traverse. It was these runnels that fed the central square reflecting pool and visually introduced the spreading water vista.¹³⁴ The vault, now broken, which was lit from an *oculus* porthole above, curved further outward and downward. This and the greater opening over the inner "cave" and its "interiors" appeared suffused by a marvelous light. Polished marble wall surfaces, now lost, further enhanced illumination. Scalloped like the sharp-edged concavities of a great seashell, the vault had a vivid mosaic of gold and other colors set on a blue ground, which in turn reflected quivering light bounced off water surfaces from the air.¹³⁵ This is an inhabitable enlargement of a standard Roman wall fountain, with its cascades under blue glass mosaic. In a lovely play with collapsed fields of vision from the entrance, this *nymphaeum* granted the vista across a domestic peristyle to a foun-

descriptive and functionally suggestive. The Canopus became the scenic *triclinium* (banquet hall) and scenic canal (121.40 x 18.65 m). Here I use the term Canopus and call the villa Tivoli. See 44–45 and 53–54 on colonnades; 139–48 and 119 on sculpture and views; 189 on water sculpture; 157–59 on niche displays and mosaic vaults; 171–78 on the hydraulic regime; 178–82 on plantings and vistas; 189 on outdoor banqueting and strolling. For plantings on side terraces, see Jashemski and Salza Prina Ricotti, "Gardens of Hadrian's Villa," 579–97 (sculptures) and 580 (river character). At the time of this writing, the villa sculptures were newly conserved and in the process of republication; see Benedetta Adembri, *Hadrian's Villa*, trans. Eric De Sena (Milan: Electa, 2000).

¹³³ Salza Prina Ricotti integrated three Tivoli loci into her seminal essay on water *triclinia* ("The Importance of Water"), 175–81, on the Canopus, esp. 175–78; see fig. 13 (plan), 16 (section), 18 (front column screen semi-reconstruction), 14–15, 17, 19, and 20 (views), and the stadium garden (179), and the Piazza d'Oro (180–81).

¹³⁴ The storage (cf. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 63–67, 183–86) and slave barracks *cryptoporticus* behind the right walkway was useful to this principal banquet hall. Large assemblies could use couches along the sides. For the two subordinate dining pavilions and a secondary central couch around a little semicircular pool (cf. Sperlonga's island basin, both likely used for chilling containers of drink and food), see Salza Prina Ricotti, "The Importance of Water," 176–77. Side columns also screened the smaller pavilions on the pool's transverse axis.

¹³⁵ Such round openings like Tivoli's had long figured in bath apses. Nero's domed dining room and extant polygon hall each had one. Set in a spherical concavity, it evokes Hadrian's Pantheon and would have also "surprised" anyone coming under its shell.

tain apse. Both its living *and* stone “inhabitants” resembled such a fountain’s pictured water gods.

Above and behind the apse, through an elevated tall central arch in further recesses, the elites inhabited a suspended island platform guarded by long-lost images. Underfoot, the “river” gushed to feed the pools below from a fictive cave farthest back, a lofty apsidal niche encrusted with “stalagmites.”¹³⁶ This suspends experience of an apsidal water hall. It was possible to look up to this seemingly inaccessible retreat and hear its sounding waters in the *cavea* below. To enter, visitors passed back into the pavilion to mount a hidden stair, winding in darkness, to emerge over the waterfall and gaze down the pool vista, a theatrical, melodramatic pleasure; it was as if visitors entered *behind* the waterfall by Tivoli’s citadel to join a river god at his source cavern, for the water *did* flow down the great pool toward hidden drains. It was as if this were the Mediterranean fed by the streams of the world’s rivers, Nile and Tiber statues (Figs. 13, 14) “sprawled” at Anio’s waters. They cued guests to grasp the riverine aspects of a generic pool contour and to remark on the marvel of the pool’s current as they walked “upstream,” after having crossed real streams to reach the villa.

This scenery turned strolling, swimming, or punting into a cruise along the shores of the Mediterranean: The entrance lattice had armed warriors at the water’s brink, as if to slake their thirst after war’s exertions. Their placement implied boating *in* the pool, since viewing them up close frontally, which was optimal, required an approach by water. Some were wounded Amazons, replicas of fifth-century B.C. masterpieces at Ephesos’s Artemision, whose goddess the Amazons served. The vestibule contained at least three other similarly dressed figures, a Diana or two and an Atalanta.¹³⁷ The lattice set also aesthetically signaled contest, for they were considered competing works of fifth-century masters. The helmeted and armed nudes, eclectic syntheses from other famous works, were likely the Greek heroes led by Hercules or Theseus who drove the Amazons across the Hellespont into the Troad and to Ephesos.¹³⁸ At sunset or sunrise, roseate reflections on the surface of the water became the “blood” of the wounded Amazons, delicately touched in color on the marble. Since the fifth-century Greek wars against Persia (Parthia), Amazons had symbolized any western campaign against Persia. Hadrian did not invent this conceit. At the enormous swimming and boating pool of the Julio-Claudian court villa at Oplontis,¹³⁹ winged Victo-

¹³⁶ On the play of spotlight and vista, cf. Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 77, on the Piazza d’Oro. Niches: the long water vault, four on the sides (the entrance preempts one); a commanding figure in the back “cave”; the front apsidal hall, three to four statue niches, four additional, marble-veneered shallow step-cascades.

¹³⁷ MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian’s Villa*, 148.

¹³⁸ These are not likely Mars and Hermes, *contra* some (MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian’s Villa*, 148). Pliny (*HN* 34.53) names works of at least five artists for the Artemision (anti-Persian victory group?) said to have voted on one another’s quality. Three were often copied in marble from the bronze originals, attributed now to Pheidias, Polykleitos, and Kresilas. John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 213–14, figs. 190–95; Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), figs. 388–96.

¹³⁹ Important entertainment rooms centered on this *natatio*, and it was lined by images looking onto the water, as Stephano de Caro notes, approached by moving in the pool; see “The Sculptures of the Villa at Oplontis: A Preliminary Report,” in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (as above, note 6), 79–133, cat. no. 22r. Like



8. Tivoli: Front arcade lattice from without, as seen after leaving the villa vestibule zone and turning right. The view through to the dining pavilion is slightly off axis.

9. Tivoli: Arcade lattice from within. Some sculptures, like the dying Amazon and two warriors, are casts of their originals reinstalled in the same locations. (left, foreground) The originally green crocodile and (background) the Nile and Tiber frame the entrance.

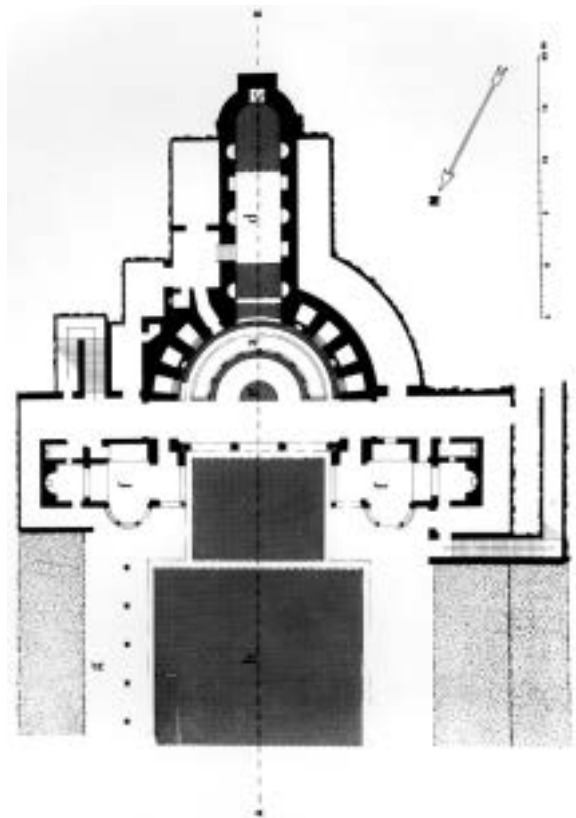


10. Tivoli: The pool, from the end of the once-covered ambulatory. Note the caryatid loggia supports, entrance lattice, and (right) the slope of the banked garden perimeter.

11. Tivoli: View down the axis of the pool from the elevated platform within the dining pavilion. Note the curve of the lower stone couches (with modern figures for scale), the square pool before the pavilion shell, and the banked garden perimeter. The central intercolumniation of the pavilion screen colonnade once had an arched entablature like the arcade in the distance.



12. Tivoli: Plan of the Canopus dining pavilion (from Salza Prina Ricotti, "The Importance of Water")





13. Tivoli: A modern cast of the Nile (with striped bar in foreground to denote scale)



14. (left) Tivoli: A modern cast of the Tiber, with fragments of the miniature group of the “wolf and twins” visible under the right arm

15. (below) Tivoli: Four replicas of the Erechtheion porch maidens stand surrounded by two satyrs resembling the Egyptian god Bes.



ries and Hercules herms framed a Romanized prince and his Amazon opponent. Thus at the outset, the compound heroically complimented the Parthian conqueror Hadrian and his accession in Mesopotamia on Trajan's Parthian campaign, which Hadrian won by treaty, like Augustus in 19 B.C.¹⁴⁰ Hellenistic and Roman rulers evoked eastern conquest with the image of the Asiatic Dionysos. Therefore, other generic images, like Dionysos, a satyr, and two Indian panthers, could denote territory, journey, and empire.

Visible afar, the mythic armies marked the hither margin as an Aegean port: Athens or Ephesos. Further down the pool on the right, visitors sailed or walked past a strange caryatid group that united Greece with Rome and Egypt (Fig. 15). At either end, bandy-legged, potbellied old basket-bearers burdened with produce resemble comic satyrs and the benevolent Egyptian god Bes.¹⁴¹ Between them, four taller, elegant maidens replicate Athens's Erechtheion porch, but their direct, local source is the earlier replica set at Rome, the galleries of Augustus's Forum to Mars Ultor, god of Parthian conquest.¹⁴² At poolside, the vessels in their hands complement their setting, as if the girls *had* come to draw water.¹⁴³ Hence, the group juxtaposes styles of classicism and grotesque realism; Dionysiac "nymphs" with "Silenoi": lovely young slaves, who attended the pavilion symposiasts juxtaposed with fat old ones, stock figures of Roman comedy, lugging in loads of fruit. Other fragments and sculpture from the Canopus and its pavilions also made discrete groupings;

columns, trees lined the pool's long display side, statue bases before their trunks. De Caro (129) observes that the ends make an ABC/CBA mirror set: at each end a Hercules herm, then an alighting Victoria, frame a young nude warrior at the nearest corner and at the other end an Amazon. At the Villa dei Papiri earlier, De Caro notes the herms in the smaller peristyle garden, pairing an Amazon with a 5th-century male type, Polykleitos's *Doryphoros* (spear bearer). The Victories, unusual as garden sculpture, signal politicized decoration for the owner Poppaea and her young husband Nero. The nude prince (cat. no. 15 [*ephebe*]) wears the Roman commander's cloak (*paludamentum*). Once reddish purple, it made a striking backdrop, and the lowered right hand of the prince curled around a spear. A heavy metal object in the raised left hand shows holes for pins, likely a sheathed sword. The prince wore an attached diadem (not the athlete's *taenia*), the fillet of Hellenistic kings. The young Hercules (De Caro, cat. nos. 13–14) may deliberately harmonize with the young prince.

¹⁴⁰ Tigris and Euphrates frame Mesopotamia, who kneels to Trajan on his arch at Beneventum (see note 164). In the background, soldiers cross Trajan's wooden bridge, just as his column's narrative opens with the Danube acclaiming Roman armies passing over him on Apollodorus's pontoon bridge. Perhaps the Parthian frontier river(s) had statues at this pool to match the Nile and Tiber.

¹⁴¹ This is my observation. The dwarf physiognomy characterized by long torso and short legs is unmistakable, and the attempt to emphasize short stature next to the taller maidens is clear. Like satyr's clothing, the unusual wrap skirts suggest Egyptian linen kilts. Bes's grimacing images still protected children in Egyptian homes and were repeated for Roman egyptianizing decorations like the archaizing gray Egyptian granite colossus from Amathous (Cyprus) harbor, which is a startling 4.2 m x 2 m (*PECS*, s.v. Amathous).

¹⁴² The male–female pairing humorously answers the entrance's elegant mythic pairing of a draped woman and a nude man; likely, it was replayed in the pavilion. It is unclear whether this series held up only a lintel or loggia roofing. Replicas of the Roman/Athenian figures turn up elsewhere in villas of this century and region; Hadrian's set stressed topographic features.

¹⁴³ Apt, since the scarp concealed clustered slave barracks and/or storerooms. Classicizing slave statues had long been popular for lamps and fountains. From the 1st century B.C. (Villa Farnesina stuccoes), idyllic landscapes showed refined young women and short, fat, old Silenus. Cf. Tiberius's costumed servants.

the horse and wing fragments, for example, indicate mythological groups, perhaps Pegasus and Bellerophon at the spring of Helikon or Corinthian Peirene.¹⁴⁴

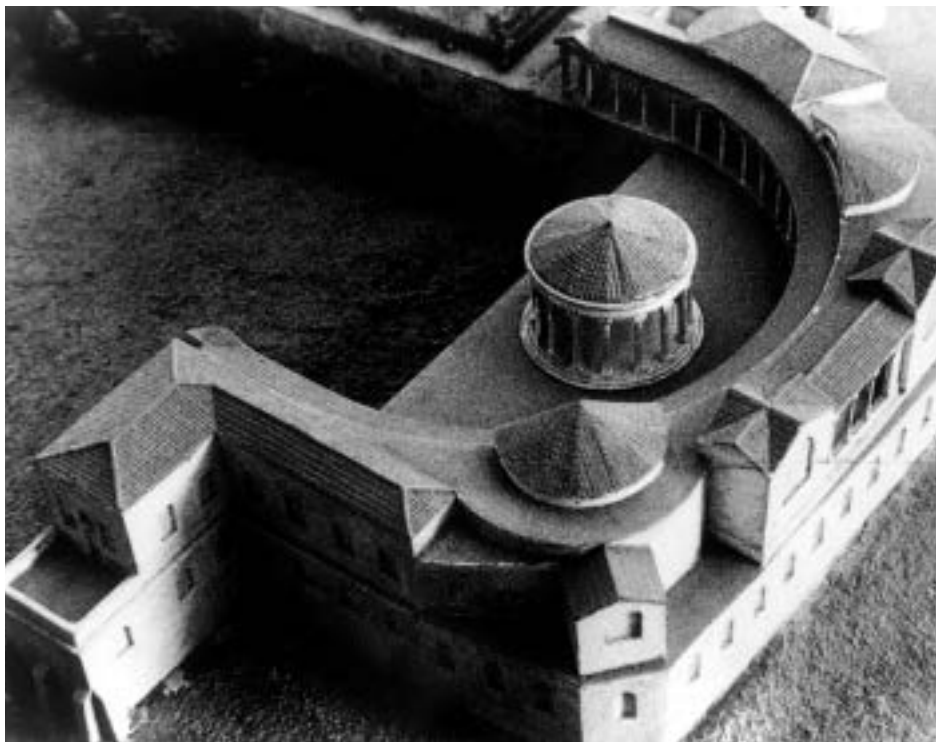
From the walkways and from within, the pool edges thus became the margins of a periplus around Hadrian's empire: Asia, Egypt, and Europe. No wonder that somewhere a statue group personified the provinces, translating serious political monuments in the capital. Up this sea fed by Nile and Tiber was the pavilion, as if upriver to Rome or Alexandria.¹⁴⁵ The postulate that *land* motion suggests *water* motion is supported by another pavilion, an elevated round shrine within a *D*-shaped portico, which supplies a fine archaizing or late imperial replica of Praxiteles' *Venus of Knidos* (Figs. 16, 17). This Venus stands naked to bathe by her water urn; the *tholos* too must have been a Venus shrine.¹⁴⁶ Anyone coming through its portico along its foundation terrace would have been surprised to see how the valley prospect frames the temple. But visitors also arrived from below, up the now-inaccessible shallow valley, to confront an elaborated fountain wall spilling water back down the valley, the temple crowning it as if on a crag. This salutes local prospects, the still-admired round temple (of Hercules or the Tiburtine Sibyl?) on urban Tivoli's *arx* (citadel) overlooking its watered gorge.¹⁴⁷ The land voyage also mimics a sea voyage. Moving spectators enacted the much-celebrated approach by sea to Knidos, whose Doric temple was high on a cliff in its own garden. It housed Praxiteles' masterpiece, which attracted many visitors. This temple was sited like a *pharos* as a cynosure to mariners along the Karian coast for the Venus of Good Voyage (*Euploia*). A fitting patroness to the itinerant Hadrian, she also had promontory shrines guarding the dangerous traverse around Cape Malea at Kythera and

¹⁴⁴ Other groups: e.g., animals, Egyptian figures, portraits (note 132), and Roman ritual groups.

¹⁴⁵ "[He] fashioned the [v]illa . . . in such a way that he might inscribe there the names of provinces"; MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 151, rightly understand statue bases. See my *Dynasty and Empire*, 79–84: "titles of the peoples" at Augustus's Forum (whose caryatids are copied here), which also matched Africa to Europe in its Jupiter shields; the Portico of Pompey; Augustus's Portico of the Nations; the peoples of the empire in the temple of the deified Hadrian. MacDonald and Pinto (151) note the head of a North African found in the 18th century in the Bog.

¹⁴⁶ The Doric order, unusually well represented at Tivoli, combines ancient Greek and Italic architectural traditions. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 51, 59–60, figs. 49, 50, note the apostrophe simultaneously to Knidos and Caesar's *hortus* shrine. Emphasis on the view back up to this shrine is mine. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, make this valley the *SHA*'s "Tempe," but any wooded garden could do if it led through a steep, constricted wooded ravine to a cave, as they cite Ovid's description, and the open view to the shrine is different from this wild vista.

¹⁴⁷ For the still spectacular Temple of the Sibyl, see Filippo Coarelli, *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana* (Rome: Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1987), 105–6. Cf. MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 148, on the Venus group of the water court (Venus, Hypnos, nymphs, and marine frieze). The Venus crouching to wash from the Heliocaminus bath pool replicates an installation from Anzio's palace. This vista, Venus-*tholos* with porticoes, typifies 2d-style fresco in the 1st century B.C. It also salutes Rome's historic Venus shrines: Venus Victrix centering a curved portico atop the watered cavea of Pompey's theater, overlooking the portico gardens; Venus Genetrix, dominating the Forum Julium, its podium façade also a *nymphaeum* wall; at an imperial villa, the round shrine in Caesar's gardens, next to the great garden sanctuary of Venus Erycina by the Porta Capena. Ps.-Lucian's description, *Amores* 13–14, and the Aphrodite Euploia, Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, s.v., figs. 503–7, T 95–100, 128. Lucian, T 98: "When we had taken sufficient delight in the garden plants, we entered the temple." See Pausanias, 1.1.3.



16. Tivoli: D-shaped pavilion and circular shrine, model, bird's-eye view looking southeast down the valley garden (from MacDonald and Pinto, Hadrian's Villa)



17. Tivoli: View through the shrine ruins, with a cast of the Roman replica of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos visible

Naples. Thus at least twice, Hadrian made multiple allusive water gardens about traveling past the shores of specific Mediterranean lands.¹⁴⁸

The rivers crossed to explore the villa estate were framing streams that afforded pleasing dialogue, conceptual and experiential, with overtly artificial waterscapes within the villa core; from these the residents moved back out into the countryside to walk and hunt.¹⁴⁹ From the Republic onward, villa owners named a *locus* to suggest a place meaningful to their interests and to recall their travels. Hadrian named many places in his complex for somewhere else, both real and mythical: for example, the Vale of Tempe, Hades' *inferna*, the philosophic gardens of Athens, and a set of province labels.¹⁵⁰ To walk from place to place was, as within the Canopus, to repeat the periplus around the Mediterranean coasts used to reach them. Even this partial set documents that the whole estate liked to remind visitors of travel through a varied world of the natural and the civilized. Modern eyes too often see such variety as lack of order. The Canopus's multiple riverine fictions accord strikingly with the toponyms' character because each site was remarkable for a specific river and could be suggested by mere mention of that stream.¹⁵¹ At Tivoli, moving waters and water pathways nourished meaning as much as vegetation. Hadrian inscribed on cities and villas through his architecture the universalizing place analogies of poetry.

This *locus amoenus* alludes to imperial *negotium*. Iconographies of vision and motion make water mastery the presiding metaphor for the governance of spectacle, armies, and continents. Tivoli gracefully denotes current and mythic voyages, with visual parentheses different from Sperlonga's gripping narrative emphases. But it adds in the variety of suggested motions to what it eschews of Sperlonga's immediacy, narrative unity, and "real"

¹⁴⁸ For Naples and Cape Zephyrion overlooking the Canopus, see Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives," 62. For Cape Malea, see *Das Wrack* (as above, note 28), 158. Cf. popular taste for seaside city portraits, launched in the 2d century A.D., on luxury glass from harbor towns: Donald Harden et al., *Glass of the Caesars* (Milan: Olivetti, 1987), 208–9, cat. no. 116. In *From Pergamon* (as above, note 40), De Grummond, "Gauls and Giants," 271–73 note 92, attends to topographic references but not travel.

¹⁴⁹ Villa contours were Janus-faced. An important view was from outside at points opening to the occupants' return, but the field of Landscape Studies tends to ignore unaltered topographies. To us, a "find" is a constructed and planted garden. For villas' "natural" river and island visits, cf. Cicero, *De legibus*, Bk. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *SHA* 26: "He constructed his villa marvelously, in that in it he could inscribe the famous names of places and provinces; for example, he would say Lycaenum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poicile, Tempe. And that he might omit nothing, he even shaped an 'Inferi' (Underworld)." The chapter discusses his villa practices (i.e., hunting). His favorite prey, a lion, signals a gamepark. Athens's Prytany is a council chamber, its Stoa Poikile, a public place with commemorative war history paintings. Chaps. 16 and 26 describe the literature and drama he favored as entertaining recitals including distinctively Italic forms and authors. Hadrian may have favored Greek banquet dress, but in it he observed Atellan farce. This literature spans the comic, tragic, epic, historical, and philosophic. Chap. 16 stresses his taste for the oldest Latin masters and chap. 19 his public revivals of ancient Latin theater.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives," 56, 69 note 2, on Statius attributing such reach to Pollio's villa; 50–51 on the strategies of manipulating allusive *topia* of poetry, painting, and villas. For a list of toponymic pavilions, see my "Looking outside Inside," 8, 31 note 10. The Vale of Tempe (note 150) may be one of the unimproved stream courses. The Lyceum and the Academy rose on the banks of the Ilissos where Socrates still invites readers of Plato to sit under the shade of a plane tree. The rivers of the *inferi*, Styx and Acheron, were metonymically deployed constantly.

seashore. Here artificial contours laminate different geographies and kinds of motion, one over the other. Just as motion on the hard paths suggested a water cruise, so motion in the water suggested exciting motion on land. The pool's contours and its tiered and banked garden frame the stylized circus stadium, especially the Circus Maximus. Its scale approaches that of the sunken stadium garden at Hadrian's main urban residence, the Flavian palace enclosed over the real Circus Maximus.¹⁵²

Urbanity in general and the *urbs* in particular thus also informed the largest contour of this quintessentially leisured rural retreat. Although the stadium-shaped garden (*hippodromus*) decorated grand villas from the time of the Republic, this one is twice special. It reproduces not only the circus's footprint but also its banked interior in elevation. Whereas turf floored other stadium gardens, this circus was floored with running water. That made permanent one of the most impressive imperial spectacles: the flooding of Rome's circuses and stadia for mock sea battles and mythological water tableaux. The novel sculptured sea battle at Sperlonga suggested the then-new reenactment of historical naval battles in the flooded circuses. Here suggested identity was emphasized by the way that the pool contained a burlesque of the circus's central *spina*, for two plinths studded the ellipse where a *spina*'s finial monuments sat. As with the orientation of the framing sculptures toward the water, the overt mirroring of the circus shows that people *were supposed to* move along these waters, swimming or in skiffs, for pleasure *and* as a spectacle of motion in water.

At Rome the imperial box gave the emperor a fine view of the tangle of chariots rounding the turning post, where the advantage in a race was either won or lost and drivers risked all in the exciting chance of collision. Safe and lovely patterns were made from the spectacles of danger: Hadrian's pool, denoted as a lap pool by its markers, let him play safely at the dangers of the games while swimming, boating, or watching others play. With Hadrian presiding, viewers assembled at the terminal pavilion or by the caryatid loggia, doubtless making joking bets on friends or slaves like gamblers at circus chariot races. Such games took place on large enough estate waters, and the pool stresses its "circusness."¹⁵³ At the

¹⁵² On the imperial box's iconicity, see Gianna Dareggi, "Genesi e sviluppo della tipologia del loggiato imperiale nelle raffigurazioni degli edifici circensi," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 103 (1991): 71–89. Hadrian's other stadium garden (MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 76–77; Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 75–76) also transformed a normal circus space. Red sand perimeter paths meant it hosted runners, but the core was a pavilion lined with statues and freshened by water runnels open only at its ends. A *cavea* fountain with water stairs like circus seats and plantings governed the far end (Mielsch, *ibid.*, fig. 53). Cf. two gladiators recovered by the east-west terrace (MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 146).

¹⁵³ For Marcus Aurelius's pleasure in watching rowers stroking time, see Fronto, *Epistola de feriale Alsino* 3, on his charge's visit to his villa at Alsium. His other pleasures were reading the Latin classics, wandering the seashore, and taking boat excursions before going to the baths and having a seafood dinner. The Circus *spina* was decorated with sea beasts and dolphins carrying balls shifted to mark the laps. Sidonius, *Epistles* 2.2: a lake of about two miles with a central island "and, for aquatic sports, a turning post on a pile of boulders, scene of many a gay collision" (Littlewood, "Ancient Literary Evidence," 28). On water mime in public circuses, see Kathleen Coleman, "Launching into History" (as above, note 125); Gustavo Traversari, *Gli spettacoli in acqua nel teatro tardo-antico* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1960). Cf. in sarcophagi and late Roman mosaic (*LIMC*, s.v. Eros/Amor marine scenes) floors and basin linings that depict *piscina* sports and marine circus burlesques like swimming, wrestling from dolphin backs, and racing dolphin mounts and then crashing or falling.

spina ends where a fast wooden chariot might be smashed, deathly water monsters, Sperlonga's Scylla innocuous in stone, seemed to attack wooden ships that came too near. To round either Scylla repeated the route Hadrian had taken to reach Latium, attaining south Italy from the eastern empire or from North Africa.

A water "monster," a crocodile in lifelike greenish stone, vomits water at one of the pool margins. This horrid denizen of the marshes *populates* the pool like a Nile, as the river's personification does not. It brings to reality those Nilotic fantasies that began to cover Roman floors and walls in the second century B.C. As if in a menagerie, this man-eating water being is comical, but in the context of Hadrian it makes an allusion to pain. Since Augustus's day, Egypt belonged especially to the emperor, and Hadrian cruised the Nile for pleasure as well as for business. On such a voyage, his lover Antinous drowned in circumstances—suicide, murder, accident?—that still fascinate novelists and historians. The loggia caryatids here likely allude to the boy.¹⁵⁴ Nearly incapacitated by grief, Hadrian stocked Tivoli and the empire with images of Antinous divinized in Egyptian and Greco-Roman forms. If the Canopus is Hadrian's private pleasurable Nile, it is also the river of his own pain, a nightmarish swim, whether it was designed after his return from Egypt or started beforehand but left unaltered.

Home from his perennial voyages, Hadrian arrived at the Canopus among the first of the pavilions of his *secessus* to Tivoli, where he reenacted his voyaging in miniature: by choosing speedier or slower motion at will, walking his pool's circuit or floating its length, and swimming or being rowed to his collected statuary, which was based on originals he had seen in Greece and Asia. Overt tributes to *his* Rome dignified his *villegiatura*. The gentle garden transformations of imperial grandiosity soothed the strains of more formal, dutiful habitation. So much of Hadrian's journeying was for warfare and seeing to the empire's frontiers. At Tivoli his virtuous and soul-scarring toil turned into stimulating domestic exercise: *ambulatio* and *natatio*. The hairy, contorted bodies of Rome's enemies, which had been left in his campaigns' wake, became beautiful dying Amazons at this sea's frontier; to him, the caryatids became conquered women (Vitruvius, 1.15) in the company of his own dead soldiers. The evocation of the tragic Nile voyage was its own consolation, for some forms under which Hadrian deified Antinous show that he knew the Egyptian landscape of belief, which promised immortality to the soul's voyage.

This garden aestheticizes ugly death and agony: Event became art, the world a museum, solid walls turned to trees and air on which marble lines were almost painted. It was salvatory because it repeats forever Hadrian's remembered lifetime pleasures in a garden paradise that promises perennial happiness. Its traverse signifies that lucky chance—Fortuna, the goddess at Tivoli's entrance—prefers emperors above all others in life's chariot race.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Hadrian founded Antinoopolis (also known as Besantinopolis or the city of Bes-Antinous) near the site where the youth had drowned (*PECS*, s.v.). It was near the city sacred to Bes (Besa), a significant point in Roman minds because Bes guarded children and the afterlife. Other egyptianizing images here are Apis-Isis and Ptah. Isis's connection to salvific waters and water architecture of her Roman precincts are well known.

¹⁵⁵ For sculpted Fortunas between the vestibule and scenic canal, see MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 148.

Since at least the second century B.C., the Roman elite aimed to own many properties as salubrious retreats for different seasons: cooling or humid breezes by the seaside or river-side, at an inland elevation by a waterfall or lake at the height of summer; more sheltered inland properties for the beauties of spring, late summer's vintage, fall harvests, and the hunting season that extended from fall to the cold of early winter; in winter proper political elites headed for their cities on senate and council business. Tivoli was meant for early spring or fall enjoyment, to avoid insects and the heat and bilgy humidity of summer.

Because Hadrian never constructed a seaside palace does not mean that he did not take seashore vacations at appropriate seasons.¹⁵⁶ To seem a legitimate successor to Trajan, himself brought to office in dubious circumstances, Hadrian surely made showcase visits to Trajan's seaside palace at Centumcellae and enjoyed the Domitianic estates at Circei next to Sperlonga, as well as Castel Gandolfo. For pleasure, health, and as part of his well-known program of imitating Augustus, he cruised the villa coast. Julio-Claudian resort complexes such as Baia and Puteoli on the Bay of Naples had survived the eruption of Vesuvius; palaces at Capri and Anzio, like other resorts now unknown, beckoned.

As the *hortus* belt around Rome made nearly a solid ring of imperial gardens, so the south-central Italian shore was dominated by imperial estates; Italy's core symbolically manifested the emperor's benign mastery of land and sea. Imagine Hadrian bearing Trajan's ashes on his return to Rome from the Parthian campaign. Passing the great villas, his entourage must have repeatedly gestured, "*Dominus*, that is yours." As a young noble, Hadrian knew them even before they became *stationes* (halting stops) on his voyages from foreign campaigns. This itinerary was evoked by the marine *thiasos* reliefs girdling the moated island pavilion offering the ultimate rest at this villa's heart.¹⁵⁷ The length of Hadrian's absences and their character of arduous military supervision invited the metaphor of Odysseus's ten-year voyage, never mind his ten-year siege of Troy, and the wittily doubled transformation of the Sperlonga Scylla shows that he meant this.¹⁵⁸

What sort of *persona* did Hadrian garner by choosing Tivoli? This palace modeled the binary of *otium* and *negotium*, sanctioning his pleasures by public exertions in war and peace.¹⁵⁹ For this Iberian parvenu, an artificial Republican and imperial lineage was established much as his equally parvenu predecessor Trajan had staked out a Republican-style

¹⁵⁶ For villa locales, see Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 126–32.

¹⁵⁷ On the island enclosure, see MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 88–89, 148, 189.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Horace, *Odes* 2.6. In this elegant *recusatio* he joins himself to his friend Septimius, as Romans bound from state service in Spain, sailing home through the African shoals of the Syrtes (lines 1–4). The rest is a winding mock-positive refusal to join Septimius at his estates at Tarentum (lines 5–9): "Let Tibur, planted by Argive colonist, be for my old age too a solid seat, let it be the terminus for a man wearied by the sea, and roads, and army service."

¹⁵⁹ I doubt Mielsch, *Die römische Villa*, 149, who contends that Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, the next emperors, sought to eliminate the contrast between the demands of their careers and the villa's traditional repose. If there were texts only for Tivoli, I would agree. Comments on modesty in a villa life devoted to hunting and fishing ignore the traditional *urbanitas* of Roman villas and the great parks thus implied. A formal character is implied by the many surviving imperial portraits, which rival the Palatine (MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 198–99); see also note 132.

clan identity with his Basilica Ulpia. The ancient Latin city of Tibur was thick with historic villas dating to the glory days of the Republic, which preserved the toponyms of their founding patrons. It was likely meaningful that Hadrian encapsulated a fine Republican villa. The city held the villa of Scipio Africanus, who had conquered Carthage. This was likely *his* property, which held the court Augustus had adjoining the ancient elevation of Hercules. It was used to receive embassies from around the empire.¹⁶⁰ However seldom Hadrian was home, image counted, and the internationalizing character of his villa's iconography fits. I agree with MacDonald who remarks that if Nero's palace was *rus in urbe* (country in the city), Hadrian's villa was an *urbs in rure* (a city in the country).¹⁶¹ Its extensively watered landscape was essential to this character, with the baths, fountains, ornamental pools, and aqueducts characteristic of Rome.¹⁶² Tivoli inverts visions of Rome's primordial marshy character. At the *tufa*-encrusted grotto of the Canopus—the type of pavilion that Pliny the Elder noted was called a *musaeum* (home of the muses)—the emperor imitated King Numa, who gave Rome its first civic and religious laws. As Roman poets and historians liked to depict, the nymph Egeria dictated these laws to him as they lolled in amorous consort in a mythical watered cave in the Aventine woods.

Like Hadrian at Tivoli, every emperor after Augustus who made a substantial new villa seems to have installed as a badge of identity a water garden obtrusively quoting the Odyssean cycle of Sperlonga. That implies programmatic visits by every emperor to what was a marvel of *natura* and *ars*, as much as the great caves that Domitian had enlarged at Albano.¹⁶³ In every city of the empire, a ruler saw repeated the generic core of Capitolium and ruler shrine that overlaid familiar “Romanness” onto the world's diversity. He also repeatedly encountered complexes that transmuted now-historical imperial sites at Rome. Only random fortune preserves Sperlonga and the Tivoli palace, but my logic goes beyond simply looking

¹⁶⁰ MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 192: Tivoli is an easy ride within the zone permitted senatorial elites when the senate sat at Rome. See Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 72, on his favorite villas; Cicero, *Philippica* 5.7.19, on Antony holding court at Scipio's house, still known in the 1st century A.D. to Seneca (*De beneficiis* 4.12.4). See also Coarelli, *I santuari del Lazio*, 85–112, esp. 96–100, on Republican Octavii active here, and 102, on identifying Augustus's villa with extensive remains southwest of the temple, still occupied in the 4th century A.D., like Sperlonga.

¹⁶¹ MacDonald, *The Architecture*, vol. 1 (as above, note 2), 278–83 (s.v. Piazza Armerina and Tivoli), and MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 193–95; on Flavian villas, see Bergmann, “Painted Perspectives,” 58–59.

¹⁶² On Hadrian's irrigation systems, see Jashemski and Salza Prina Ricotti, “Gardens of Hadrian's Villa,” 591 f. Investigation is lacking for the historiated geography of Rome's aestheticized and iconic (sacral/political) waterworks, signaled by names and status or archaeological finds, in the sometimes utilitarian categories of *lacus*, *fons*, and *piscina*. The bones for that enterprise are the regionary catalogues, the *LTUR* entries (*lacus*, *fons*, *stagnum*, *hortus*, *nymphaeum*, etc.), and those explorations of water administration that reveal dedicated *fontes*, surely often aestheticized, by city colleges of *magistri* and *ministri*; cf. Christer Brunn, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: A Study of Roman Imperial Administration* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1991) and in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 392, reviewing *LTUR*, “fontes.”

¹⁶³ Those caves spelled out the episode of the Cyclops and updated the Scylla group by casting her in silvery dappled stone, glistening like the fierce gray porpoises that her body imitated. See *Ulysse*, 339–41, Tivoli Scylla: *ibid.*, 342–45.

at brilliant water gardens of different epochs. In his Italian villa circuit, the emperor must have felt at home in a whole series of “family houses,” stocked with dynastic portraits. (Like a giant atrium, the Canopus accumulated such portraits.) Without that frame, the stylized references to Scylla at Tivoli cannot be fully appreciated with respect to how it gestures in other ways to mythical frames of struggle over the seas and introduces new and complementary allusions to fresh inland bodies of water.

At Tivoli, Scipio, Antony, and then Augustus meant to don the triumphant mantle of Hercules, who was one of Rome’s most important cult figures. They all took pains to link themselves publicly with him, and, as successor to Jupiter-Trajan, Hadrian made an exemplar of Jupiter’s itinerant son.¹⁶⁴ Hercules had wandered the world hunting and waging war, activities that Hadrian’s public arts took pains to showcase. In the Stoic philosophy that Hadrian favored, Hercules was the sterling model of a just leader cleansing humanity of evil and chaos; his image was recovered from the zone above the east valley.¹⁶⁵ That Hercules had sojourned in Rome and established its first altar for the primeval Arcadian settlement there formed the basis for Roman cults. His visit “occurred” when he was on his way back from Spain, Hadrian’s homeland, to retrieve the cattle of Geryon from the monster Cacus of the Palatine. From Augustus’s occupation of the Palatine, every emperor dwelt next to the Stairs of Cacus. Spoliated ancient sculpture instantiated that history, for the palace was joined to the portico of the Temple of Apollo. The cows of the fifth-century B.C. Athenian sculptor Myron made the herd that Hercules had taken from the monstrous thief to this temple.

Tibur took its name from its builder: Tiburnus. His cliffside source cave, which was renowned for the coolness of its waters and the air of its encircling grove, had modeled the *nymphaeum* of a sumptuous aristocratic villa by the river cascades. The prospects of Tibur’s citadel were evoked elsewhere at this villa by the circular Temple of Venus. Like the “river cave” of the Canopus, it was meant to evoke Tiburnus’s holy garden. Watered by the diverted streams of the Anio and its nearby feeder streams, the palace thus miniaturized not only Rome but also this nearer city, in both of which Hadrian occupied the palace of Hercules-Augustus. Hadrian’s own public art, the famous series of *tondi*, now on the Arch of Constantine,¹⁶⁶ celebrated a grotto cult of Hercules at Tibur in the context of *villegiatura*, like Tivoli.

¹⁶⁴ Trajan took his epithet Optimus Maximus from Rome’s major cult of Jupiter. When Hadrian finished the attic story of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, whose woodland scenes were to help model his *tondi*, he had himself carved as a young general in a soldier’s beard at the shoulder of Trajan, whose toga and gesture were mirrored across the inscription panel by the drapery and gesture of Jupiter Optimus Maximus handing his thunderbolt to Trajan. In the Capitulum’s (Domitianic) pediment, Hercules stands before his father, as Titans hammer out thunderbolts for Jupiter.

¹⁶⁵ MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian’s Villa*, 146.

¹⁶⁶ Mary T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 190–202, figs. 45–52. These launch Roman commemorative hunt iconography, the most popular subject for sarcophagi at Rome. The presence of Antinous, the nude in the first *tondo*, emphasizes the bucolic villa world. The incomplete set retains start and finish, with a *profectio* from an arched villa portal and the imperial epiphany. The bear (Silvanus) and the boar (Diana) signal Europe and perhaps Anatolia; the lion, Africa and Mesopotamia.

Those circular reliefs delineated an ideal series of hunts conducted from a generic villa in a gamepark studded with rustic altars dominated by masterpiece statues of suitable gods. The first imperial monument to make this favored sport a visual ideogram of warlike *virtus*, the *tondi* culminated with Hadrian's epiphany over a slain lion, Hercules' animal. Next, the emperor made a sacrifice in a cave shrine before a statue of the young Hercules seated on a similar pelt at the end of his own first toil of slaying the Nemean lion.¹⁶⁷ Hadrian has just hung up the lion's skin and a triumphalist laurel garland at the end of his own labors.¹⁶⁸ Hercules sits framed by two votive Roman cuirasses and his right hand is holding out Victory, as if to Hadrian. This homecoming (*adventus*) suggests Tivoli itself, a favorite dedicatory shrine of Republican triumphal generals. The little statue on its rocky ledge depicts Tibur's oracular *Victor*, the only type for Hercules "on arms," whose sanctuary and grove Hadrian must have richly endowed. The unprecedented circular format was exploited to model a concave stony hollow, translating into stone the conventions of pastoral and sacro-idyllic painting, to show for the first time real Romans entering their beloved, sacralized water grottoes.¹⁶⁹

In the *tondi* Hadrian promulgated at Rome the Tiburtine Hercules, seated over his arms as at banquet after war, to model his own virtuous, manly *otium*. No Hercules is extant from the Canopus, only from the east terrace, but there need not be one. Differently from the Odysseus exemplar at Sperlonga, the emperor's own body sufficed to impersonate the Italian warrior against the Amazons, who stands defeated at the pool entrance.¹⁷⁰

Apollo needs an animal. See Boatwright, *Hadrian*, 197–200, on Hadrian's ostentatious commemoration of hunts in Gaul, Anatolia, Greece, and Libya. It is doubtful that viewers could have read in these generic landscapes the overspecific localizations proposed by many, but they would have known Hadrian's travels and the depicted animals' habitats, as they would also have adduced for gameparks and imperially sponsored hunts.

¹⁶⁷ Alexander the Great traveled with Lysippos's *Heracles Epitrapezios* that sat at his banquet tables on a campaign; at least Romans thought so, and some thought they had the statue, which was passed to Hannibal, then Sulla, and then a Flavian connoisseur. See Martial, *Epigrammata* 9.43. Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 147–52, and on marble and bronze miniatures, 157–86. The small scale of the statue in Hadrian's relief evoked the fetish of Alexander, often, as for hunting, Hadrian's exemplar.

¹⁶⁸ Not in Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies*. The Tibur cult image is copied by the 1st century B.C. in a little Republican marble votive from the sanctuary: a seated beardless god with a trophy cuirass on each side and a helmet by his right foot. This is Hadrianic Hercules' only parallel. For illustrations, see Anna Maria Reggiani ed., *Tivoli: Il Santuario di Ercole Vincitore* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 20–23, noting allusion to the ritual of offering Hercules one-tenth of any spoils. Others (Boatwright, *Hadrian*, 201) want this to be the Hercules of Gades' famed temple (Cadiz) because Hadrian was Spanish. Certainly, Spanish Hercules resonated in any Hadrian–Hercules pairing, but the mature, bearded Gaditanus had achieved his last labor. Art speaks by forms. Viewers in Rome would not have missed visual reference to the local, youthful image of Latium's main Hercules cult.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. the *nymphaeum* wall from the imperial villa at Anzio. A mosaic (at the time of this writing, under restoration at the Palazzo Massimo Museum) in an artificially textured cave apse shows the triumphant Hercules at ease. Hadrian elaborated a real cave cult for Hercules *cubans* (on his couch) on the Tiber's far bank (ex-imperial *hortus* grounds?). The cave and altar were carved from rock, probably with a Hercules statue sprawled drinking inside. It functioned as a victory shrine for circus charioteers for the circus pool; see Maxwell Anderson, *Radiance in Stone: Sculptures in Colored Marble from the Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome: De Luca Edizioni, 1989), cat. nos. 31–32.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Felix Pollio's villa in Naples, Statius, *Silvae* 2.2, its waters guarded by Neptune and its fields by

Mastering Water

At Sperlonga, real rock and seawater activated the hyperreal tableaux of depicted story, and those shaped stones in turn narratized barren rock and sea. At the Canopus, geometrically rounded basin frames delineated a little Mediterranean in an artificial way, annotating it with images.¹⁷¹ Paradoxically, this is where it most diverges iconographically and instantiates also an inland—riverine—waterway in a design that approximates how Sperlonga sought to realize the essence of events linked to sea and shore. It was in response to the naturalistic imperial grottoes available to him that Hadrian designed the Canopus as a stage for *denoted* rather than *delineated* story, its statues arranged in symbolic, geometrically defined patterns rather than interacting in depicted action. Though it seems less sensitive to a *genius loci*, the Canopus states its meanings with even greater emphasis on the shapes of its spatial frames, from its river source cavern to its character of circus garden. One important place the Canopus instantiates is the generic imperial villa, evoking the emperor's *villegiatura* circuit in a way paralleled by the shrines of Hadrian's gamepark *tondi*. The other sort of place it instantiates is the watered city.

At Sperlonga, Augustus's improvements mimic on a miniaturist scale his harbor works at Portus Julius and Misenum; they also gesture toward the great public works at Rome, where Augustus put himself out to strengthen the Tiber embankments. At Tivoli, analogy with Hadrian's public works was inescapable. This colossal enterprise¹⁷² drew upon and so showcased engineering resources available only to a head of state or an army.¹⁷³ So too with the art collections: Elite villas were richly decorated, but only someone commandeering state transport could have quickly amassed so many imported sculptures, paintings, fine marble columns, and veneers.

Hercules. He endorses Pollio's construction and receives a villa shrine: Bergmann, "Painted Perspectives," 53, 55. Impersonation games, for Antinous, were favored at Tivoli (e.g., Dionysos, Osiris, and the Roman woodland god Silvanus). Hadrian's imperial grandson Commodus thus glossed a garden pavilion at Rome. This *nymphaeum* in the Horti Lamiani showcased the image of Commodus wearing Hercules' lionskin and carrying his club and apples of immortality. The sculpture includes miniaturized elements of the god's eastern supremacy: an Amazon crescent shield (*pelta*) upheld by kneeling Amazons who flank a heavenly globe, symbol of Hercules, in place of Atlas, upholding the heavens to obtain the golden fruits (E. La Rocca and M. Cima, *Tanquilli dimore*); cf. *Oplontis* (as above, note 139). Thus the popular bedded garden pools' juxtaposed *pelta* shapes may sometimes be iconic (e.g., Domitian's palace at Rome; its dining hall statuary celebrated Hercules).

¹⁷¹ MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 195–97, comment on Hadrian's patronage in "an age of enthusiastic tabulation," marked roads, and maps. This is an older Roman habit, but the context stands. I disagree that "the western provinces are absent" (196); Italy at least bulks large.

¹⁷² It required moving earth, undercutting cliffs, digging tunnels, and importing a water supply system. See MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 29, on tapping the Anio Novus and undercutting the cliff to add scenic content and height to the villa. On road and tunnel systems, 30 f., see *SHA* 21.5, assisting Latium after the Tiber floods.

¹⁷³ See Bergmann, "Greek Masterpieces," on shifts in attitudes. Such massive alteration was practiced by Republican villa makers like Lucullus that it also attracted sardonic critique. By the Flavian period, artifice and mastery of nature, for which nature was to be grateful, were praised.

It can neither be proven *nor disproven* that this pool suggested *Alexandria's* Canopus, or pleasure canal. However, as Sperlonga emulated major formal watered displays of historical and mythical action at Rome, so Tivoli's Canopus competed with the elaborated water parks of the Campus Martius, which Agrippa had set up for Augustus, just as Hadrian recreated the Pantheon of Agrippa. Only their names survive, but an elongated pool like this was probably approximated by the Agrippan "Eurippus." The Baths and the Stagnum modeled the large square "lakes" of earlier villas and Tivoli also (e.g., Stoa Poecile), fine pavilions doubtless stocked with art of the marine *thiasos* and fountains.

Although Hadrian had made this complex, which was greater in area and splendor than the whole Agrippan project, for himself, *not* the nation,¹⁷⁴ imperial ideology increasingly identified the *person* of the emperor with the *body* of the empire. Trajan had already stated this in a public monument: Trajan's Column, which contains his cremated remains, celebrates his monumental public earthworks and the cutting away of the Quirinal Hill to make the Forum. Decorated with his epic campaign through Dacia, its many images of construction start at eye level, with the bridging of water (Danube), and culminate with his image at its peak. Hadrian's hunt *tondi* made a national exemplar of his villa pleasures. Conversely, his villa showed off *public* care by his *private* exploitation of state resources.

Hadrian likely thought that private displays of water control adduced an emperor's exemplary public tending of aqueducts, river embankments, and harbors. Both at his villa and Rome, he tamed the waters fed by the Anio.¹⁷⁵ Here the aqueduct system enabling fictions of a source cave opens to curious visitors, then as now climbing behind the *nymphaeum* to another terrace zone with its own watered suites behind. This leads to the garden *ambulatio*, which is elevated parallel to the porticoed walkway and leads back to the palace's heart. From behind, the *nymphaeum's* crown is a mini-Pantheon dome with a web of elevated aqueduct channels feeding toward it: *nymphaeum* as aqueduct terminus (Fig 18). That names a major form of imperial urban display: the elaboration of a *castellum* or *caput*, where the waters of an aqueduct were fed into urban distribution systems. By Hadrian's day, a *caput* fountain was designed to make water not only useful but also beautiful.

Hadrian's fountain hall was understandable as celebrating its own machineries. The inner cascades fed this physical metaphor and evoked the Anio's stunning real cascades at the city nearby.¹⁷⁶ With its columned façade, high window, and views deep into a watered

¹⁷⁴ Hadrian's restorations (*SHA* 19) included Agrippa's baths and the Pontus Hadriani leading to his mausoleum. He sponsored innumerable aqueducts in his own name (20), drained the Fucine Lake, and in Africa was a water god whose visit made it rain for five years (22). Fascinating is chap. 10: He cleared from military camps, in his reforms, the *triclinia*, *porticus*, *cryptae*, and *topia* (villa apparatus, portico, sunken pavilions, and formal dining rooms and gardens). Elite garrison commanders likely had become used to installing these.

¹⁷⁵ The Novus and Vetus aqueducts were named for the Anio. Paradigmatic for mentalities is the treatise *De aquis urbis Romae* offered to Nerva by his noble *curator aquarum*, Frontinus, well-known technical literature for Hadrian's generation. Nerva's authority shows his *diligentia* and *amor* for the nation. Care for aqueducts is "an office that concerns not merely the *usus* (utilities) but also the *salubritas* (healthiness) and even the *securitas* (safety) of the City, and that has always been administered by the *principes* of our *civitas*."

¹⁷⁶ H. Chanson, "Hydraulics of Roman Aqueducts: Steep Chutes, Cascades, and Dropshafts," *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000): 47–73, comments on conjunctions of dropshaft and stilling pond, which



18. Tivoli: Core of the dining pavilion's nymphaeum, as seen from the elevated terrace behind it. Visible are the water conduits to the fountain and the opening and roof over the inner platform, which offers a glimpse of the main pool underneath.

vault to a source apse, the *nymphaeum*'s footprint resembled those extra-urban *nymphaeum* halls for Greece's urban aqueducts, still extant, which Hadrian subvented.¹⁷⁷ This Janus-faced representation of complementary fictions asserts a mutuality of beauty and utility for natural and human construction. It aligns human artifice as a point on a spectrum that includes *natura* in the coming-to-be of this watered world. Exposed fountain mechanics are to be savored along with the bird's-eye view of the "river" pool afforded from the same vantage point. These vistas link motion to three simultaneous perceptions of water: as a *transported* substance, as an element *in* motion, and as it affords *our* motion.

A master of water on a human, contemporary scale, Hadrian configured the Canopus as a mythic *locus* where he became not only a *guest of water gods* but also an *authentic water god*.

describes the water display. His site table (51) shows four along the Anio Novus and three consisting of rock tunnels, which are identified with the *inferi* (see *SHA*) and called on tunneling skills developed for grand water systems. For the Canopus feeder system, see Salza Prina Ricotti, "The Importance of Water," 176 (as above, note 6): water collected in a settling cistern over the "waterfall," 45 ft. above ground, feeding all water displays through two drop chutes. MacDonald in *PECS*, s.v.: "Copious sources of clear water in the hills NE account for the many aqueduct bridges across the neighboring valleys; four of Rome's aqueducts passed by Tivoli."

¹⁷⁷ Frontinus wrote that the wealthy patron class who donated these *castellum fontes* wanted them called *munera*, also the word for donated spectacles. On Greece, see S. Leigh, "The 'Reservoir' of Hadrian in Athens," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 279–90, passim, on the *caput* on Lykabettos Hill in Athens and the hall on the Larissa Hill at Argos. I reject a referee's comment: "[T]he grotto form . . . should be explained as conveying the image of the aqueduct's water source into an urban context" because these were extra-urban (290, note 37). However, like the Canopus, they translate as *river* and *cave source*, the facts of an aqueduct's course, whether below or above ground, and place that "spring" where expected for an aura of antiquity in a plausibly extra-urban slope. Cf. Corinth's famous *fons* of Peirene, since the 1st century B.C. romanized with an arcaded front before the spring's water basins toward which visitors, as if diving, leaned through niches with fish frescoes. Water issued from a deeply excavated fissure whose cave identity was emphasized by leaving the rocky arch visible through the arcades. See Betsey Robinson, "On the Genius of Place and Master: Corinth's Roman Fountains" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001).

Tibur's sacred landscape was renowned for the grove of the nymphs of Albunea, who were celebrated by Horace in connection with his own Tiburtine villa. Here the river god Tiburnus resided in the holy grove's water cave.¹⁷⁸ For Roman visitors this was the obvious type for Hadrian's magnificent cascade grotto, as his villa's reception precinct nested in its elevated ring of trees.¹⁷⁹ Here he reclined in cool shade by a still pond filled by the cascade from Anio's mossy grotto, which in the words of Statius's poem for a villa also at Tibur frames it within a narrative of travel as being *more places at once* than Tivoli's extant toponym set. Home at Tibur, Hadrian played at being Tiburnus, settled after his own long voyage from Argos. He could also congratulate himself on playing out Horace's style of country retirement near Tivoli, laid out in a series of poems canonic to any subsequent Roman reader and Tiburtine villa owner.¹⁸⁰ The Canopus's program is also visible through the masterpieces of great artists like Pheidias and patrons like Augustus. It is a Roman stance that the tropes of the visual arts should also call up literary masterpieces. Horace, Vergil, and Ovid constituted that body of texts associated with the Republican and Augustan Golden Age, which painted visions of the Roman bucolic, pastoral, and mythical landscape, its staffage, and important events. Alongside reflections of Augustus's caryatids, two prominent literary visions were intended as models of the "good" prince. The human protagonists, Aristaeus and Theseus, reached water palaces during journeys: one hero traveled around the western Mediterranean and the other around the eastern end, mimicking the Canopus circuit.

According to the fourth *Georgic*, Cyrene, in a grotto in North Africa amidst her court of water nymphs, receives a visit from her son, who was fathered by Apollo: the seer shepherd Aristaeus. On a quest to find a cure for his sick bees, Aristaeus is magically drawn through a gateway pool into the space behind its waters: Cyrene's cave *nymphaeum*. Here nymphs offer libations to Ocean, and the world's rivers, including the Tiber and Po (3.360–85), gather with Tivoli's Anio River. This *Georgic's* famous proem about the bees' palace is itself a villa prospectus. Vergil intended the bees' polity and Aristaeus's quest as metaphors

¹⁷⁸ Coarelli, *I santuari del Lazio*, 104–5, on the texts, Tiburnus's *lucus*, and the Tiburtine Sibyl. Through the 4th century A.D., this was a *locus amoenus* of poetry and pilgrimage; Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.81 f., cf. Servius ad loc.; Horace, *Odes* 1.7.11 f., Ps.-Acron ad loc., "delectabile nemus;" Tibullus, 2.5.69 f.; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 1.6.12; Statius, *Silvae* 1.3.70 f.

¹⁷⁹ See Statius, *Silvae* 2.3, lines 70–82, on Manlius Vopiscus's riverine villa, waterworks, and gardens. Statius groups with his grotto Egeria's cave on the primordial Palatine, Greek oracular woods sacred to Pan in Sparta and Arcadia, Apollo and the Dryads at Parnassus or Helicon, Hercules' oracle here (Tirynthian *sortes*), and the *Fortunae* of Praeneste's (water cave) oracle, ending with Alcinous's ever-fruited palace orchards at Phaeacia described in the *Odyssey*.

¹⁸⁰ Hadrian became owner of Horace's villa, which was willed to Augustus at Horace's death; it might be Horace's villa at Licenza. Its natural water amphitheater shows the sort of aestheticized natural water source that the Canopus imitated. Here I am interested in the Tivoli poem, *Odes* 1.7, about a visit to Tibur that helped Horace decide to move here. Lines 13–14 address the city's sacro-idyllic vistas, of the Anio cascade, Tiburnus's grove, and fruit orchards wetted by *mobiles rivi*. These are either the cascades' jumping strands or temptingly (K. Quinn's commentary, 136 ad loc.) the net of irrigation channels from the Anio, *mobiles* because the waters can be directed. See *Horace: The Odes*, ed. and comm. K. Quinn (Hong Kong: Macmillan, 1980). That reading makes a nice pairing by Horace like my apposition: water naturally channeled, falling down into a gorge, and water led by man down into artificial channels.

for nation making and just rule. Further water banquets and visits to numinous caves both precede and follow it. Aristaeus's itinerary called for entering Cyrene's hall after visiting a splendid canal garden, Egypt's Canopus (285–95); for his quest's resolution, his mother takes him to the grotto of the sea god Proteus. The closing scene takes place during the imperial era at the Euphrates River, where he acknowledges Caesar Augustus as Parthia's master. Doubtless that panegyric was quoted often in Hadrian's presence, since he was the *new* Augustus who had completed Trajan's Parthian Wars.

Ovid "constructed" water gardens throughout his *Metamorphoses*, and Books 8 and 9 (8.547–612, 725 f.; 9.1 f., 89–98) expand on Vergil's scenario. The just, god-born prince is Neptune's son, Theseus, returning to Athens from Arcadia: from wilderness to capital. Along the way, he makes a villa visit at sea and river. The mighty River Acheloos benevolently shelters the *Neptunius heros* and his companions from Acheloos's own spring-swollen flood, and he feasts with nymphs and the sea-god Proteus. Acheloos's cave with its seashells mimics many Roman fountains and grottoes. As from Roman maritime villa caverns, the guests gaze upon the estuary prospect and ask their bull-horned host about the islands they see.¹⁸¹ Like Hadrian at Tivoli, the river god can explain that he *made* those islands.

Athens's modern ruler, who remade the city's monumental topography, would have generically invited comparisons to Theseus. Ovid's journeying prince would have attracted him by his Roman pedigree. Local reference in the political allegory of the fourth *Georgic* certainly attracted Hadrian and his visitors to a source cave at Anio waters, joined by a reclining Tiber and Nile. Hadrian and his friends were steeped in these idyllic and triumphalist textual visions. The Canopus was a refuge between world-traversing journeys to the places of these poems, also by a pious prince, son of a god. Hadrian built his *nymphaeum* so he could be hosted *by* water gods and also *be* a water god, conceptually master of the world rivers convoked by sculpture, at the waters that he made to move through the Canopus.

*"Shall I Admire First the Genius of the Place or of Its Master?"*¹⁸²

Public and private were equally communal in Roman society, their rituals deeply intertwined. Sperlonga's micro-Mediterranean is synchronous and symbiotic with another Augustan project: the Porticus Vipsania erected by Agrippa "to put before us the world, made to be looked at."¹⁸³ That map of lands, rivers, and seas codified not only science but also the landscape of Roman conquest and colonization, which was replicated across the empire.¹⁸⁴ Both sites illustrate Nicolet's postulate that "[Roman] geography as science and

¹⁸¹ This scenario is influenced by art. Cf. the fictive votive relief (Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 189). Within a cavern from his rocky seat before an altar, Acheloos watches dancing nymphs who have just been led in by the lounging Mercury. Sprawled on a ledge overhead, Pan tootles on his pipes. This late Republican fantasy is based on the Acheloos votives and caves of Greece (see Ridgway, note 76).

¹⁸² Statius, *Silvae* 2.2.44–45.

¹⁸³ *Proponere orbem spectandum*: Pliny, *HN* 3.17.

¹⁸⁴ Nicolet, *Space* (as above, note 28), 5. On the needs of Rome's elites, armies, and subjects, see 64, 73. See also 99–111, the map portico (Porticus Vipsania 7–2 B.C.), with its marked distances between major ports and labeled rivers, mined by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 3.16–17; 4.78, 81, 105; 5.102; 6.37), and probably Vitruvius,

representation . . . is fundamentally a political history, [its monuments] stentatious, connected with triumphs . . . and linked . . . to a mythical way of thinking or to collective interests.”¹⁸⁵ These villas domesticate that sensation of feeling at home in the Roman world that map pavilions offered to an urban audience. Sperlonga and Tivoli borrow the exemplary character of Roman chorographic monuments, learning more clearly by the eye the greatness of the world stage for the stories of empire and emperor. They instantiate three-dimensionality capable of being journeyed in, the explicating graphic vistas of geography and events that are well known from Roman public commemorative at the worlds constructed by imperial fora and triumphal monuments.

Sperlonga and Tivoli hint at the potentially personalized enjoyment of *any* Roman landscape. They could not have functioned save in a culture in which their designs could be understood because of others’ analogous practices. Over time, as they themselves engendered imitations, that too served to mark Roman landscape practice. This is only one kind of Roman garden, but it is perhaps that which most benefits from trying to historicize ancient experience for us.

We are used to water displays that we are *not* supposed to enter, whose sculptures we are meant *not* to touch, and for which we are *not* acculturated to understand our circumambulation as a mimetic journey. The Roman binary of beauty and utility can seem too easily comprehended, for utility is a variable and culturally assigned value. Romans taught themselves to justify *any* garden as therapeutic, civilizing, and, when not imagining a “love nest,” conducive to social morality. These special examples at Sperlonga and Tivoli exemplify how *any* Roman water garden offered motion through cycles of immersion and emergence as a means of cleansing both inner and outer exhaustion. In a fluid and incalculable world, their controlled images and topographies restaged in beauty and safety graver challenges in order to sharpen present ease by contrast and promise catharsis for any past or anticipated anguish.

8.2.6, noting the *capita fluminum* (river sources) painted and inscribed in world maps and by the Augustan Strabo. Augustan mapping iconography includes the Forum Augustum and Ara Pacis; cf. my *Dynasty and Empire*, 80–83, 90–92, 104–6. Augustus made these emphases in visually and physically traversed spaces.

¹⁸⁵ From Nicolet, *Space* (as above, note 28), 72. Cf. 111–12, speech given in A.D. 298 (*Pan. Lat.* 5.20–21) in Autun’s replica *porticus* before the Tetrarch Constantius Chlorus. Eumenius hints that he gestures at the pictured world (*depictum orbem*). On the *adventus* context, see Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 27–28, 286, note 56 f.; on the sea *adventus* panegyrics for Constantius and Constantine, 27, 286 notes 54–55.

Mountain, Temple, and the Design of Movement: Thirteenth-Century Japanese Zen Buddhist Landscapes

Norris Brock Johnson

The archaic temple landscapes of Japan remain a deeply affecting interrelationship of religion and nature—religion and nature often meet, embrace, in the garden. In particular, consider the design of several Rinzai Zen Buddhist temple garden landscapes: *Zuisen-ji* (Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring) in Kamakura and *Saihō-ji* (Temple of the Western Fragrance) in Kyōtō. The design and layout of each temple garden landscape are associated with Musō Kokushi (1275–1357), a still-venerated Rinzai Zen Buddhist priest (Fig. 1).¹

Musō considered the movements of people as a vital aspect of the design and layout of each temple complex. Conventionally, the movements of people within garden landscapes by design are relatively horizontal movements. For Musō though, mountains were a vital aspect of a religious landscape. As such, the ascent of and descent from a mountain continue as necessary to the experience of the religious landscapes associated with Musō Kokushi. By design, the inclined, often nearly vertical movements of people still are required to experience *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* in their entirety.

Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring

The Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring (*Zuisen-ji*), with Musō Kokushi as the initial abbot, was constructed from 1327 to 1332 as the family temple of the Kamakura

¹ Musō Soseki was honored three times as a *kokushi* (national teacher), receiving the title from Emperors Go-Daigo (1318–1339), Kōgen (1313–1364), and Komyō (1321–1380). On Musō Kokushi, see esp. Thomas Cleary, *Dream Conversations, on Buddhism and Zen: Musō Kokushi* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1996); Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 151–65; idem, “Musō Soseki,” *The Origins of Japan’s Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 261–94; Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1984), 62–69; Teiji Itoh, *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1983), 82–83, 103–7; Kenneth Kraft, “Musō Kokushi’s Dialogues in a Dream: Selections,” *The Eastern Buddhist* 14 (1981): 76; W. S. Merwin and Sōiku Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight: Poems and Sermons by Musō Kokushi* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1989); Takeji Tamamura, *Musō Kokushi* (Kyōtō: Heirakuji Shoten, 1958). Musō gave his seal of succession to 52 pupils and over his lifetime instructed 13,145 monks.



1. *Mutō Shūi*, Musō Kokushi (from Tsutomu Minakami and Seki Bokuō, eds., Koji Junrei Kyōtō, no. 4, Tenryū-ji no Reikishi to Zen [Kyoto: Tankosha, 1976], 17)

shogunate (*bakufu*). *Zuisen-ji* was an important temple, a place where acolytes petitioned to study Zen Buddhism with Musō.²

The Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring is relatively small with only a few temple buildings sprinkled amid the rockery and dense foliage of the mountains of north Kamakura (Fig. 2). The largest building in the complex is the Abbot's Quarters of the Temple (*Dai Hōjō*; Fig. 3), the rear of which faces a small pond (*chōsei-chi*; Fig. 4), as well as a cave (*zazen do-okutsu*) carved into the mountain within which, according to legend, successive priests of the temple sat in full-lotus seated meditation (*zazen*). A small shelter on top of the mountain is accessed only by a steep ascent/descent on steps cut from the rock and earth of the mountain. Thus principal buildings are sited both on upper and lower levels of the temple.³

² On *Zuisen-ji*, see my "Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring," *Kyoto Diary* 5, no. 2 (1999): 1–6; "Buddhism and the Architected Ethical Environment: Zuisen Temple and Garden, Kamakura, Japan," in *Tradition and Ideology in Building: Temples and Rituals* (Berkeley: Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, 1995), 1–31; "Buddhist Ethics, Environment, and Behavior: Musō Kokushi and the Cave in Zuisen Temple, Kamakura, Japan," in *Environmental Ethics: Discourses and Cultural Traditions*, ed. Rana P. B. Singh (Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh: National Geographical Society of India, 1994), 123–40; "Zen Buddhist Landscapes and the Idea of Temple: Musō Kokushi and Zuisen-ji, Kamakura, Japan," *Architecture and Behavior* 9, no. 2 (1993): 213–26; "Zuisen Temple and Garden, Kamakura, Japan: Design Form and Phylogenetic Meaning," *Journal of Garden History* 10 (1991): 214–36. See also Imtraud Schaarschmidt-Richter and Osamu Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, trans. Janet Seligman (New York: Morrow, 1979), 185–86.

³ This essay is a suggested methodology for the study of garden landscapes. Its phenomenology is situated within an anthropological emphasis on participant observation—not only being present within the situation being researched but, where possible, participating in it (i.e., temple landscapes). The anthropological



2. Zuisen-ji: Aerial view (photo: temple archives)



3. Zuisen-ji: The Abbot's Quarters

Forests and Mountain Fastness

To the left of the pond, a passageway to an escarpment near the top of the mountain is terraced from earth and stone. The rock-cut steps up the passageway are narrow, and the passageway remains steep, at times nearly vertical, and physically difficult in ascent/descent (Figs. 5–8). At times along the way, a glance downwards reveals the garden pond appearing almost directly below. The design of the passageway “does not let one see where it leads; it gives subtly to the scenery, increases its ramifications, creates a sense of seclusion and depth, and prevents the visitor from taking in everything at one glance.”⁴ In the middle of the climb, the Abbot’s Quarters below disappear into surrounding foliage, while the summit plateau of the mountain is yet to be seen. There is only the passage itself. The passageway generates *yūgen*—an awareness of deep unseen significance within the shadows, pregnant

emphasis on participation and observation often includes first-person narratives of personal experiences as a component of final published accounts; see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) and *The Anthropology of Experience*, ed. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Into this basic methodology, I incorporate Wilhelm Dilthey’s emphasis on *Erlebnis*, what has been “lived through.” By this Dilthey means that phenomenological narrative accounts ought to enhance for readers a sense of “lived throughedness” with respect to the landscape represented through the firsthand experiences of the researcher; thus, readers are better situated within or affectively experience the landscape narrated through inclusion of the firsthand experience of the researcher. Thereupon, readers might, for instance, conjure up a feeling of not just climbing a mountain but actually “feeling” the rough stones beneath their feet. For Dilthey, experience was primary reality—interestingly, a stance congruent with Japanese Zen Buddhist emphasis on primary experience. Dilthey emphasized that writing in this manner enhances “sharing lived experiences”—what Turner and Bruner term “putting experience into circulation” (12). For this essay, the concerns are the primary experiences of Musō and successive generations of priests and then with my primary experience as the researcher/writer. See also Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Press, 1982); idem, *Wilhelm Dilthey: Selected Writings*, ed. H. P. Rickman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). As such, the writer does not have to interpret the experience for readers. Phenomenological description *is* interpretation. Gaston Bachelard also emphasizes this mode of phenomenological presentation via inclusion of the felt experience and emotions of the researcher/writer. Phenomenologically, a writer’s goal is to recreate the felt experience of the situation narrated. See esp. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie*, trans. David Russell (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 173–212. See also *The Poetics of Space*, trans. M. Jolas (New York: Orion Press, 1964); *Senses of Place*, ed. Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1996); Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (New York: Humanities Press, 1962); idem, *The Primacy of Perception* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1964); and Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1977). Interestingly, incorporation of phenomenological accounts of direct experience in studies of gardens and other landscapes is congruent with Japanese Zen Buddhist emphasis on heart-to-heart communication of primary experience. Here I emphasize both images and text as a vital aspect of a phenomenological presentation. Especially with respect to gardens and landscapes, well-integrated words and images can heighten a reader’s felt experience. More than ancillary accompaniment to text, well-placed and well-captioned images aid empathetic experience of space and place. On this phenomenological view of images, see John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (Chicago: Open Court, 1929); idem, *Art as Experience* (New York: Minton Balch, 1934); and Mikel Dufrenne, *The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

⁴ Hongxun Yang, *The Classical Gardens of China: History and Design Techniques* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982), 75.



4. Zuisen-ji: Garden pond in front of the cave carved into the mountainside



5. Zuisen-ji: Bridges over the pond lead to narrow, steep steps carved into the mountainside.



6. Zuisen-ji: Steps leading to the mountain escarpment



7. *Zuisen-ji: Main temple building, as seen when ascending or descending the mountain*



8. *Zuisen-ji: Pond and pond bridges in the temple garden, as seen when ascending or descending the mountain*



9. *Zuisen-ji: Path through the forest, with temple buildings peeking through the trees*

with mystery.⁵ Lush foliage cools the passageway and softens the surrounding mountainous earth and stones.

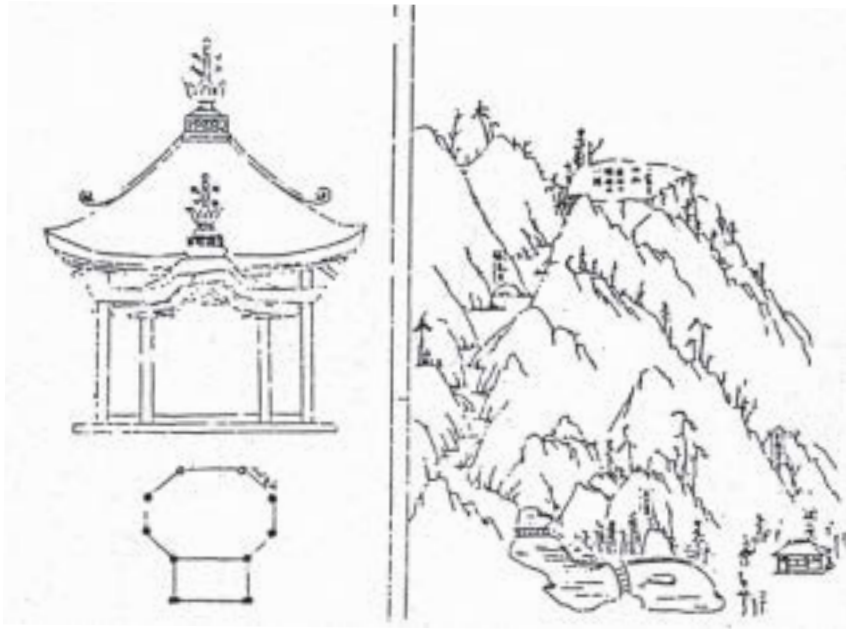
Ahead, there is a slight ascent through a thickening forest of mixed coniferous and deciduous trees (Fig. 9). The path narrows upon approaching the high plateau of the mountain. A bit further ahead, nestled within tall grass, rarely visited, is a wooden arbor (Figs. 10, 11). The garden scholar Iso Mutsu writes:

[I]n 1328, shortly after the temple was founded, the first priest, the celebrated Musō Kokushi, caused a pavilion called *Ichiran-Tei* to be erected upon the summit of the hill . . . in order to afford rest and appreciation of the landscape.⁶

Modest shelters in the forest and arbor pavilions on the top of mountains accompanied Musō's Zen and are a testament to his living simply in and intimately with nature. For more than twenty years, Musō lived a relatively solitary life, and, as historian Ryusaku Tsunoda notes, "[H]e wandered all over Japan to seek a revelation of Truth [*tathāgata*] in its mountain

⁵ On the important 16th-century concept and aesthetic of *yūgen* and garden landscapes, see Vincent T. Covello and Yuji Yoshimura, *The Japanese Art of Stone Appreciation: Suiseki and Its Use with Bonsai* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1984), 26–32; Schaarschmidt-Richter and Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, 72; and Makoto Ueda, *Literary and Art Theories in Japan* (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967), 60–64.

⁶ Mutsu, *Kamakura: Fact and Legend* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1955), 73.



10. Zuisen-ji: Mirei Shigemori, historical sketch interpreting the original design of the arbor (from *Nihon Teien Shi Zukan*, vol. 2.1 [Tokyo:Yukosha, 1936–1939], 68)



11. Zuisen-ji: Arbor on the mountain plateau, nested in tall grasses

fastnesses and forests.”⁷ The religious landscapes of Buddhist India and China influenced Musō to explore the interrelationship of mountains and temple buildings. In India and China, Buddhist temple buildings still remain sited near revered mountains to which monks and other believers continue to make pilgrimages. Examples include Vulture Peak near Benares in northern India and T'ai Shan in the Shandong province of eastern China. In Japan, Musō included mountains as a salient aspect of the siting and layout of religious landscapes. Thus, rather than sojourning outside a temple to experience mountains, people experienced mountains via the routine experience of the temple itself. Musō named the arbors he constructed, or had constructed, after people who influenced his religious development; for example, the arbor here on the mountain plateau aspect of *Zuisen-ji* was “The All-Encompassing View from an Arbor [*Ichiran-Tei*],” after the Chinese priest Henkei Ichiran. Musō's original arbor was consumed by a fire in 1439, rebuilt in 1442, but burned again during the Ōnin War (1467–1477). The arbor was rebuilt once more in the early Tokugawa period (1603–1868) by patron and visitor Tokugawa Mitsukuni. Then it was subsequently destroyed during an earthquake in 1703. The present-day arbor was raised on the site of Musō's original *tei* (arbor) by Nikura Shidoshi, an abbot at *Zuisen-ji*. Thus we see that subsequent generations of senior temple priests routinely ascended to and descended from the arbor and site on top of the mountain plateau.

“A Gathering of Beauty”

Iso Mutsu writes:

In olden times, the distant view commanded from this small plateau was highly renowned amongst poets and nature lovers, its beauties having been immortalized in many songs and poems. Beyond the irregular ridge lies the deep blue ocean, distant purple mountains closing in the picture with lovely effect.⁸

Across generations, it appears that the only people invited to this aspect of the temple landscape were those deemed by temple priests to be capable of appreciating the deeply affecting experience. From this site, the visitor still experiences the surrounding mountains so deeply loved by Musō: Tsurugaoka, Nagani, and Tendai to the north; Hakone and Izu to the east; and Mount Fuji to the west. The phrase *henkai ichiranten tei no niwa* (garden arbor for apprehending myriad views all at once) best expresses the experience of the designed interrelationship of person, building, and nature felt here on the mountain plateau.⁹ A

⁷ *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. William De Bary and comp. Ryusaku Tsunoda, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958), vol. 1, 234. For a definitive discussion of Musō's arbor-making activity, see “Tenryū-ji no Reikishi to Zen” (in Japanese only), in *Koji Junrei Kyōtō* (in Japanese only), no. 4, eds. Tsutomu Minakami and Seki Bokuō (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1976), 81–88.

⁸ Minakami and Bokuō, *Koji Junrei Kyōtō*, 78.

⁹ The incorporation of distant views of nature as an aspect of the design of landscape gardens was termed *shakkei*. See my “Geomancy, Sacred Geometry, and the Idea of a Garden: Tenryū Temple, Kyoto, Japan,” *Journal of Garden History* 9 (1989): 1–19; and my essays in Tadahiko Higuchi, *The Visual and Spatial Structure of Landscapes*, trans. Charles Terry (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1988), 146–62; Teiji Itoh, *The Gardens of*

contemporary document written by a resident priest from *Zuisen-ji* poetically describes the encompassing view from this site:

In front there is water [Sagami Bay] which moistens the heavens. To the left, there is a long valley. To the right, there are magnificent rocks leading to Mount Fuji . . .

Japan (New York and Tokyo: Kodansha, 1984), 82–83, 106–8; and idem, *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden*, 15–32. For useful overviews of the interrelationship of mountains and human-created religious landscapes, see Edwin Bernbaum, *Sacred Mountains of the World* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990); Marco Pallis, *The Way and the Mountain* (London: Owen, 1960); John Snelling, *The Sacred Mountain* (London and The Hague: East West, 1983).

The striking design of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* is not exclusively Japanese. The Zen Buddhism passing to Japan was a blend of Buddhism from India and the indigenous Taoism of China. Bodhidharma (Bodi-Daruma), the 28th patriarch, brought Indian Buddhism to China in the 6th century. The Sanskrit term *dhyana* became the Chinese *Ch'an* (Zen). Having made trips to China in 1168 and 1187, the Rinzaï priest Min-an Eisai (Zenko Kokushi, 1141–1215) brought Chinese Zen Buddhism to Japan. Intense interchanges of people, ideas, and artifacts occurred during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) in China and the Kamakura period (1186–1333) in Japan. Thus without traveling, Musō was influenced by the designs of venerated Buddhist temple landscapes in China and India. In dynastic China, mountains were the Taoist realm of human beings who sought out mountains as enriched environments for participation in *Ch'i* (Breath of the Tao). Tao-sheng (360–434 A.D.) likened climbing a mountain to the Buddhist experience of enlightenment in that “when the mountain is climbed, the landscape [enlightenment] . . . appears all at once”; see Heinrich Dumoulin, *A History of Zen Buddhism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), 64. Tao sheng undoubtedly would have envisioned climbing the pathway at *Zuisen-ji* as a material metaphor of the experience of enlightenment (*kensho* in Chinese; *satori* in Japanese).

Taoist temples in dynastic China invariably were mountain temples; see Dorothy Graham, *Chinese Gardens: Gardens of the Contemporary Scene, an Account of Their Design and Symbolism* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1938), 14: “Taoist priests urged the people to make pilgrimages to the high places, to the caves of hermits and to the shrines in the far hills.” Remnants of arbor pavilions and subtemples dot the summit of revered mountains, such as Taishan in north China, analogous to the placement of the *Zuisen-ji Ichiran-Tei*; see J. Porter and E. Porter, *All under Heaven: The Chinese World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 90: “The wind isolates Taishan’s summit from the land below like an island of abandoned solitude. A large Taoist temple, its rusted brown roof tiles made of cast iron to withstand the wind, sits in a sheltered depression just below the summit . . . A more humble building occupies the very summit itself.” In Buddhist India and China, mountains deemed sacred invariably are laced with rock-cut pathways for pilgrims. See also Anna M. Hotchkis and Mary Augusta Mullikan, *The Nine Sacred Mountains of China* (Hong Kong: Vetch and Lee, 1973); Paul W. Kroll, “Verses from on High: The Ascent of T’ai Shan,” *Toung Pao* 69, nos. 4–5 (1983): 223–60; Nelson I. Wu, *Chinese and Indian Architecture: The City of Man, the Mountain, and the Realm of the Immortals* (New York: Braziller, 1963). As a final design corollary to *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*, the summit of Taishan was experienced only after traversing a physically challenging winding path of 7,000 steps. See Dumoulin (as above, note 9, para. 2): “[I]t is correct, however, that the canon of Indian Buddhism described the way to final realization, namely to enlightenment and nirvana, in the form of a gradually ascending path” (63).

Of course, there are prominent instances in Japan of climbing mountains for spiritual experiences not associated with temples, but many of these mountains are *kami* (deities of Shinto, an indigenous Japanese belief), and/or are marked with Shinto shrines as dwellings for *kami* associated with these mountains. See esp. Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975), 279–97; Allan G. Grapard, “Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions,” *History of Religions* 21, no. 3 (1982): 195–221; Ichiro Hori, “Mountains and Their Importance for the Idea of the Other World,” *History of Religions* 6, no. 1 (1966): 1–23. Musō’s writings do not mention a Shinto influence on the design of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*, nor do I. Musō’s consciousness was Buddhist. On the other hand, I am not aware of any texts documenting the religious kinship of the landscape at *Zuisen-*

These rocks stand in the sky, and have accumulated the snow from ancient times. It is like the Spirit Mountain of Tsurugaoka. Mountains and rivers come together, the high and the low, the far and the near. There is a gathering of beauty, transcending the beauty of each element.¹⁰

The effort of ascending to this site culminated in an affecting experience of distant mountains. To be invited to share this vantage point apparently was being invited to share a feature of nature important to Musō, though of course every invited guest perhaps did not experience nature as Buddha-Nature (*bushshō*). The present-day arbor is weathered. The upper half of two sides are open, and views of the surrounding landscape visiting each of the open walls are framed by corner posts and by the sloping eaves of the tiled roof (Figs. 12, 13). Musō and invited guests came here, contemplated nature, and wrote poems. Mutsu adds:

around the interior a collection of poems, inspired by the beauty of the scenery and composed upon the spot, were inscribed on panels of lacquered wood. These panels are still preserved in the guest room of the temple.¹¹

There are no human-constructed features on this plateau associated with formal seated meditation (*zazen*), as on the upper reaches of *Saihō-ji*. For Musō as well as for invited guests, the shared experience here apparently emphasized the sustained, felt experience of nature. And for Musō, nature was the clear mirror of Buddha-Nature (*bushshō*).¹² While sitting here in winter, Musō wrote:

The hut of the mountain
Where the pine is piled
White snow in the garden
Peeking at the treetop.¹³

The site on top of the mountain plateau, this aspect of the temple, remains a deeply affecting interrelationship of nature and the human-created landscape, as Musō intended (Fig. 14).

ji and *Saihō-ji* to venerated Buddhist landscapes in India or China. However, the design and layout of *Zuizen-ji* and *Saihō-ji* as Buddhist temple landscapes *physically* and *spatially* embody inheritance from China. See V. Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: A Chronology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972): “[T]he monasteries of China borrowed their basic organization from India” (144). See also my “Temple as Relationship: On the Origin of Tenryū Temple and Garden, Kyoto, Japan,” in *Temples in Traditional Environments*, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series 49, no. 1 (Berkeley: Center for Environmental Design Research, University of California, 1993): 1–29; idem, “Geomancy,” *Journal of Garden History* 9 (as above, note 9).

¹⁰ This vivid description in English of a view from the arbor is in a temple brochure.

¹¹ Mutsu, *Kamakura*, 73.

¹² It is difficult to know the mindset—the consciousness—of every invited visitor to this site. Primary records are scant, but translated existing documentation conveys viewers’ affecting experiences.

¹³ “Matsumo mata kasanaru yama no iheri nite ni tsutsuku niwa no shira-yuki.” See esp. 139, Matsunoke Tatsui, “Musō Kokushi to Zoen” (in Japanese only), *Teien* 24 (1942): 138–42.



12. Zuisen-ji: Interior of the arbor, with contemporary benches and a dust whisk on the shelf.



13. Zuisen-ji: View to the southwest, from inside the mountaintop arbor



14. Zuisen-ji: View to the south, from inside the mountaintop arbor

Temple of the Western Fragrance

The Temple of the Western Fragrance (*Saihō-ji*) is sited to the west of Kyōtō. In January 794, Emperor Kwammu (736–805) ordered the administrative capital of Japan (*Yamato*, place between mountains) moved from Nara (*Heijō-kyō*, Nagaoka) to Kyōtō (*Heian-kyō*, *U-kyō*, Capital of Peace and Tranquility).¹⁴ Kyōtō was popularly known as the City of Purple Hills and Crystal Streams (*Sanshi-Suimei*). The poetic name signifies the manner in which the new capital interwove the human (city) with aspects of nature and mountains, specifically.

The capital itself [Kyōtō] was situated in beautiful country, encircled on three sides by thickly forested hills and mountains, often delicately wreathed with trails of mist. In the autumn evenings, one could hear the deer's cry in the distance and the desolate call of the wild geese overhead. The landscape abounded in streams and waterfalls and lakes, and into its green slopes and valleys the countless shrines and monasteries blended as if they too had become a part of nature.¹⁵

¹⁴ At this time, a unified nation called Japan did not exist. *Yamato* refers to the name of a powerful matrilineal clan of related families of central southern Honshū. They had begun to unify the island politically and were based on the Yamato plain near Nara. See *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters*, trans. Basil Hall Chamberlain (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1981), vols. 65–73; *The Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, trans. by W. G. Aston (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Tuttle, 1985), 1–138; George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), 41–66.

¹⁵ Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (New York: Knopf, 1964), 18–19.

Present-day *Saihō-ji* was sited within the mountains west of the City of Purple Hills and Crystal Streams, an area of prior religious significance (Fig. 15). The religious presence in this area dates to 731, with construction of Matsuo, a still-venerated Shinto shrine a short distance from present-day *Saihō-ji*. Later in the twelfth century, an influential member of the Fujiwara clan of families funded the siting and construction of several Buddhist temples within the area historically served by Matsuo Shrine. Fujiwara Morokaza was a venerated Shinto priest at Matsuo Shrine as well as an ardent believer in the Jōdo sect of Buddhism (*Jōdo-shū*, the School of the Pure Land), introduced into Japan by the monk Ennin (793–864) and institutionalized by the monk Hōnen (1133–1212). Jōdo Buddhists still believe that faith in and a deathbed recitation of Amida's name is enough to usher one into the bliss of Amida's Pure Land of Paradise (*Sukhavati*), which lies to the West (congruent with the siting of *Saihō-ji* amid the mountains west of Kyōtō).

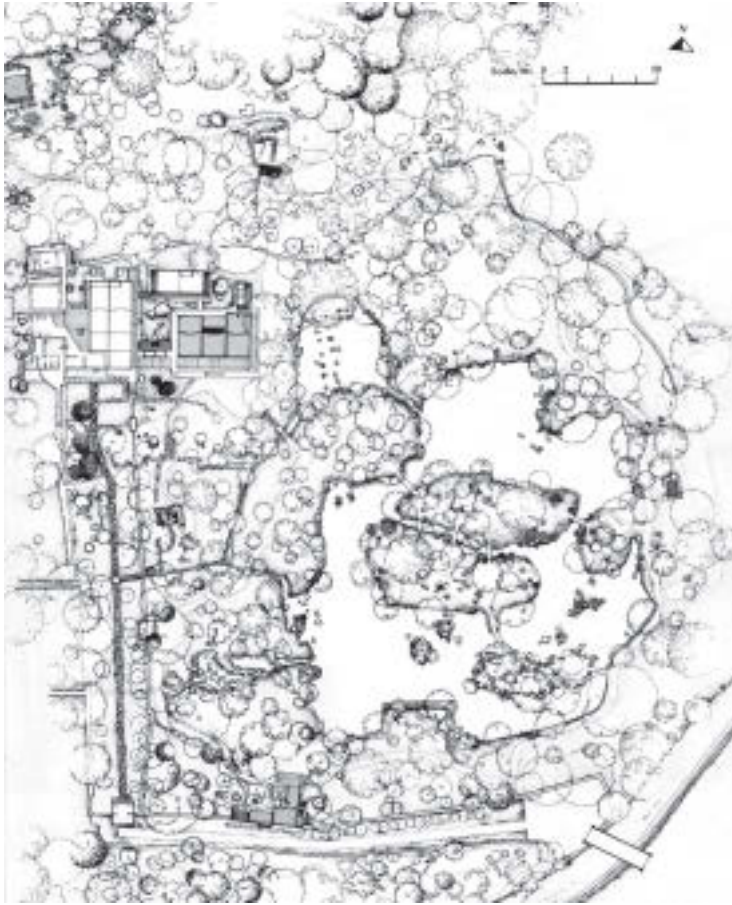
Morokaza funded the construction of two Jōdo Buddhist temples (ca. 1190–1198), the design and layout of which were the foundation of present-day *Saihō-ji*. The temples were laid out north to south (lower to the south; upper to the north), and temple buildings were spread out on the southern slope of Mount Torigatake. The two spatially distinct yet interrelated temples manifested important aspects of Jōdo Buddhist cosmology: the Temple of Aloofness from the Foul World (*Edō-ji*) was sited on an upper escarpment of the mountain, and the Temple of the Western Fragrance (*Saihō-ji*) was sited on the lower piedmont (Mount Kōin) of the mountain. The lower *Saihō-ji* complex in particular gained prominence as a physical microcosm of the Western Paradise awaiting believers in Amida Buddhism, “a world of tranquility, of paradise, and of life.”¹⁶ The expansive pond originally dominating *Saihō-ji* was envisioned as the celestial garden lakes of the Pure Land, a land of beauty and goodness.

The Music of Flowers

As a Zen Buddhist temple, present-day *Saihō-ji* was constructed between 1339 and 1341. Fujiwara Chikahide (1288–1341), a descendant of Morokaza, was a provincial governor as devoted to Zen Buddhism as his forebear had been to Amida Buddhism.¹⁷ Zen is a

¹⁶ Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 104. Pure Land Buddhism (“easy path”) was distinguished from Zen (“difficult path”). Hōnen felt that Zen was too arduous for most believers so he offered a way to salvation on the basis of faith alone—faith, that is, in the deity Amida, a Bodhisattva who had refused to accept Buddhahood until all beings became aware of their inherent Buddha-Nature. It is still believed that lifelong faith in and recitation of the mantra “Namu Amida Butsu” (Veneration to Buddha Amida) reverberates for salvation from the suffering of all living things.

¹⁷ Works in English especially influencing my interpretation of Zen Buddhism include Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Enlightenment: Origins and Meaning* (New York: Weatherhill, 1979); idem, *Zen Buddhism: A History*: vol. 2, *Japan* (New York and London: Collier Macmillan, 1990); Rindo Fujimoto, *The Way of Zazen* (Cambridge: Cambridge Buddhist Association, 1961); idem, *The Record of Rinzai*, trans. Irmgaard Schloegel (London: Buddhist Society, 1975); idem, *The Zen Teaching of Rinzai*, trans. Irmgaard Schloegel (Berkeley, Calif.: Shambhala, 1976); Katsuki Sekida, *Zen Training, Methods and Philosophy* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1975); Daisetz Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk* (New York: University Books, 1959); idem, *The Essentials of Zen Buddhism* (New York: Dutton, 1962).



15. Saihō-ji: Present-day topographic map (from Mitchell Bring and Josse Wayembergh, *Japanese Gardens: Design and Meaning* [New York: McGraw Hill, 1981], 17)

sect of Buddhism holding that enlightenment (*kensho*, *satori*), the experience of Buddha-consciousness (*bushshō*), is not a hoped-for experience culminating a lifetime of diligent effort. Rather, Zen Buddhists believe that enlightenment can occur suddenly as “the immediate expression and actualization of the perfection present in every person at every moment.”¹⁸ Zen Buddhists model the enlightenment experiences of Shakyamuni (i.e., Siddhartha Gautama, the historical Buddha) rather than the texts (*sutra*) of his reputed words, as do believers in other Buddhist sects. Enlightenment is not something for which

¹⁸ Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, and Michael S. Diener, eds., *The Shambhala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen* (Boston: Shambhala, 1991), 263. Zen is often imaged in association with the cross-legged seated (lotus) posture of *zazen* and as such is often depicted as physically immobile, static contemplation. Musō, though, appeared to place design emphasis on “walking” Zen (*kinhin*) as well as on “seated” Zen (*zazen*).

one strives; instead, when experienced, enlightenment often occurs as one's moment-to-moment experience of truth (*tathāgata*). Emphasis on the unfettered experience of existence itself means that Zen Buddhism is "an absolutely pure exercise from which nothing is sought and nothing is gained." Zen Buddhism places emphasis on comparatively accessible methods for liberating believers from ignorance, desire, and "self" (the belief in ego consciousness as reality), so that people hopefully experience being fully present to existence itself.

Musō accepted a commission from Chikahide to convert the earlier Jōdo Buddhist landscapes into a Zen Buddhist temple. He arrived to find a desolate area, ravaged by periodic fire and flood. Musō had subtemple buildings rebuilt and restored other features of the complex.¹⁹ To signal the emergence of a Zen Buddhist temple, Musō changed the name of the complex from Temple of the Western *Direction* (in reference to the paradise of Jōdo Buddhism) to Temple of the Western *Fragrance* (in reference to the presence in Japan of Zen Buddhism from China).

Musō maintained the spatial layout of the prior Jōdo Buddhist site, and he reiterated the spatial distinction between a lower area and an upper area experienced only by ascending/descending Mount Kōin on the southern slope of Mount Torigatake. Musō reconceptualized *Saihō-ji* as a single Zen Buddhist temple, though still comprised of two distinct spatial arenas. *Edō-ji*, on the upper reaches of Mount Kōin, had eroded, and subtemple buildings were lost to the ravages of time. Musō constructed pavilions and teahouses on the lower area of the complex. The pond, restored and reshaped, remained the focus of the lower garden area of the complex.

The few early descriptions of *Saihō-ji*, made by visitors some time after Musō, invariably comment on the lower aspect of the temple. On 26 March 1349, Emperor Komyō visited the temple by invitation, and "he did no more than have a good time admiring the cherry flowers, listening to music, and riding in a boat on the pond. The high-minded Zen precepts on which Musō Soseki (Musō's monastic name) had based the garden design were forgotten; people were interested solely in the beauty of the landscape."²⁰ On 18 March 1433, Prince Sadafusa of Fushimi province visited *Saihō-ji*:

I was escorted throughout the temple. No words can describe the beauty of the scenery around the pond.²¹

It appears that aesthetic, not religious sensibilities accompanied conventionally horizontal movement around the lower garden area of *Saihō-ji*. The complex resurrected by Chikahide and redesigned under Musō's direction was destroyed during the Ōnin War, save for one

¹⁹ Musō refurbished and renamed buildings primarily after places and personages from the Zen Buddhist text, *The Blue Cliff Record* (*Heikanroku*) from Song dynasty China. For instance, the prior Pure Land pond was renamed *Ogonchi* (Golden Pond—spiritual light), referring to the Chinese priest Nanyang, whom Musō venerated.

²⁰ Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 106–7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

subtemple building. Floodwaters submerged the lower aspect of the site in 1485, from 1624 to 1644, and again in 1688. Waves of successive destruction and always partial reconstruction ended in 1887 with the most recent reconstruction of subtemple buildings and with ongoing maintenance of the temple landscape. Present-day *Saihō-ji* still exhibits spatially distinct upper and lower aspects of the landscape of the temple complex. Experience of the temple in its entirety still requires concerted and often laborious physical movement up, across, then subsequently down Mount Kōin.

Moss, and Threads of Gold

Upon entering the present-day eight-acre complex of *Saihō-ji*, the visitor initially experiences the lower aspect of the temple and the celebrated moss garden (*koke dera*) (Figs. 16–18). There was no moss, though, before or during the time of Musō. The moss carpeting the lower aspect of the temple rooted during the sixteenth century and took life during various periods of flooding—areas where the lower aspect of the site was protected by mountains, where the forest of trees provided continual shade and the clay soil held vital moisture. One-hundred-twenty species of new moss presently are tended here. Some species grow to grasslike heights of four inches, while other species of moss hug the contours of the ground as far as the eye and imagination can see. The forest embracing the lower pond garden is a swarm of muted hues of green and yellow and brown. The lower area of the temple is a garden canopy of maple and evergreen trees filtering sunlight into slender shafts and threads of gold.

The curvilinear pond continues as an experiential focus of the lower area of the temple. One moves around the pond and lower garden on gravel-strewn pathways, and “one enjoys ever-changing views of the landscape as one strolls through its spaces.”²² This style of garden is termed a *chisen-kaiyu* (go-around or stroll garden), a style of garden by design encouraging (conventionally horizontal) movement around the lower landscape aspect of the temple. During the time of Musō, most invited guests apparently only experienced this aspect of the temple.

A Pathway of Contemplative Movement

A pathway to the north of the Abbot's Quarters (*Dai Hōjō*) ascends from the pond and lower garden to the upper area of the temple (Figs. 19, 20). The canopy of trees sheltering the lower area thins further along and up the pathway. Similar to *Zuisen-ji*, subtemple buildings within the lower area disappear during the middle of the ascending/descending passage. The ascent across the face of Mount Kōin to the upper area and subsequent descent bring to mind Chinese scrolls. In dynastic China, scrolls were rolled around two wooden rods, with one rod held in each hand. To view a scroll, the rods were rolled in coordination such that the drawing or painting, invariably of a landscape, was furled from rod to rod,

²² Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, 61. Earlier phases of the landscape garden on this site were designed for viewing from the interior of buildings or from boats on the pond.



16. Saihō-ji: *Present-day Abbot's Quarters (Dai Hōjō)*



17. Saihō-ji: *A path winding around the Golden Pond begins at the rear of the Abbot's Quarters.*



18. Saihō-ji: Present-day Golden Pond, where a blanket of moss extends to the edges of the water

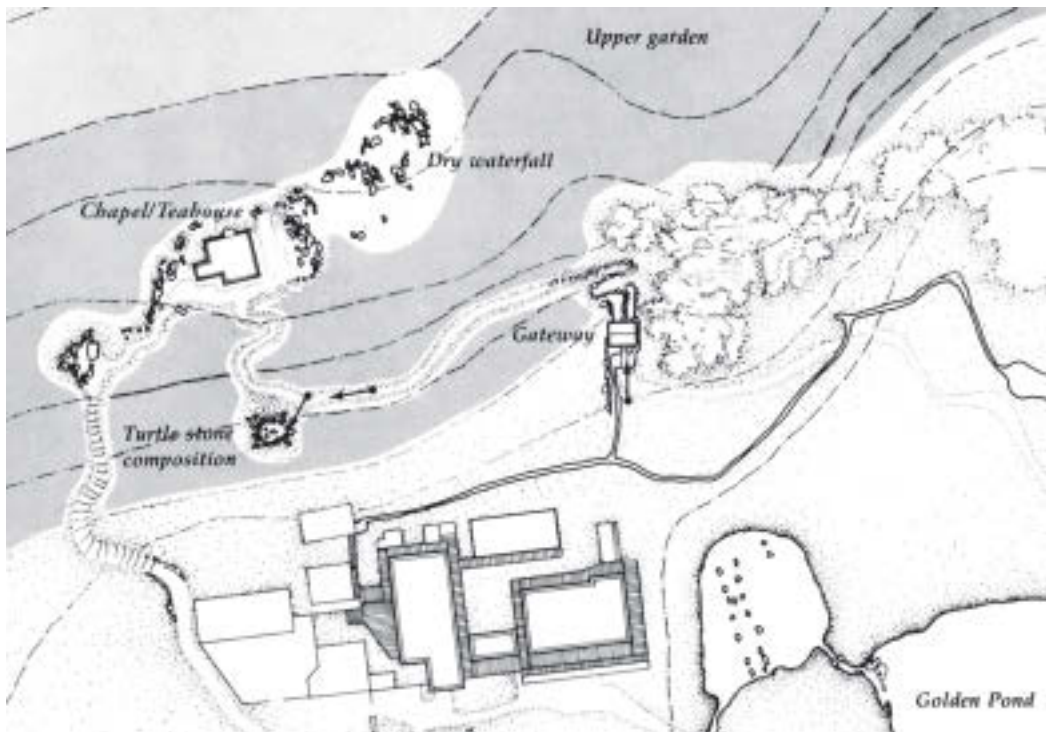
literally flowing before the viewer scene by scene. The pictorial landscape was designed not to be experienced all at once. Similarly, and akin to the layout of *Zuisen-ji*, the landscape of *Saihō-ji* continues to be experienced as a gradually unfolding vista. The experience of the ascent to/descent from the upper area of the temple is such that “as we go along the path which leads off among the moss and trees, the garden will be revealed to us bit by bit.”²³ Gates, foliage, and building architecture focus awareness and attention, as one moves through the several inclined spatial arenas comprising the temple complex. It is as if the temple landscape is a panoramic painting, the various areas of which are experienced only as one moves through the painting.

The canopy of trees sheltering the lower area of the temple complex thins further along the passageway. Similar to Musō’s layout of *Zuisen-ji*, subtemple buildings within the lower area disappear during the middle of the ascent/descent. During ascent/descent, there is only the *yūgen* of the passage itself. Entrance into the upper garden area of *Saihō-ji* is still marked by a covered wooden gate (*Kōjōkan*) and by magnificent stands of bamboo (Figs. 21, 22). Passing through and under the gateway, visitors’ further movement to and from the upper garden area of the temple is along the steep angle of the face of the mountain, where

²³ Loraine Kuck, *The World of the Japanese Garden: From Chinese Origins to Modern Landscape Art* (New York and Tokyo: Walker and Weatherhill, 1984), 105.



19. Saihō-ji: Path leading from the lower area of the temple to its upper area



20. Saihō-ji: Topographic map of primary features and structures of the upper area of the temple (from Bring and Wayembergh, Japanese Gardens, 20)

venerated foot stones (*Tsūshō* Path) “carry” visitors further along (Fig. 23). As at *Zuisen-ji*, final ascent, then descent from the mountain, became increasingly difficult, physically and emotionally.

A visually prominent building appears at the plateau of the upper area, similar to the layout of *Zuisen-ji*. The subtemple building here is a chapel (*Shitō-an*) raised in commemoration of Musō (Figs. 24, 25). The still-distinct upper/lower spatial areas comprising *Saihō-ji* provided generations of resident priests and invited guests stark contrasts in experiencing the temple landscape, dependent upon the effort of movement one was invited to undertake. Most guests apparently limited their experience to the lower area of the temple; other guests, though, ascended then descended Mount Kōin to experience the upper area. During one visit, Prince Sadafusa wrote that he had “burned incense in the *Shitō-an* . . . and [similar to *Zuisen-ji*] enjoyed the view of the fields before us and the distant scenery.”²⁴

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) visited *Saihō-ji* in 1382 and climbed to the upper area to sit within the chapel long into the night in meditation and veneration of Musō. Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435–1490) climbed here in 1458 to burn incense in the chapel in memory of Musō. For these historical visitors, the upper area of the temple was not so much a religious landscape as a site associated with the *kokoro* (heart) of Musō Kokushi.

In the Midst and Mist of Nature

The present-day upper area of the complex is relatively level, rocky, and moss-laden in areas. Musō intended the upper area to be experienced as “this world as it is” (*tathatā*), where “physical form and the human heart produce mutual reverberations.”²⁵ During his years of living in forests and wandering amid mountains, Musō wrote of several experiences of awareness of the Buddha–Nature of nature.²⁶

[O]nce a person awakens to the field of Original Nature, he sees that Buddha–nature, mind, *tathāgata-garbha* . . . as well as . . . the great earth, mountains, rivers, grass, tiles, or stones, are all the field of Original Nature.²⁷

Thus in the upper area of *Saihō-ji*, Musō sought to emphasize nature and the Buddha–Nature of nature as a vital aspect of the temple landscape. Buddhism during the time of Musō generally taught that enlightenment was possible only for people. Musō, though, felt that Buddha–Nature was the nature of both nature (*shizen*) as well as people (*hito*). People already possessed Buddha–Nature, but few were aware of it. Both people and nature “originated from the same common ground,” participating in the same nature.²⁸ However, Musō felt that nature rather than people more clearly revealed Buddha–Nature. Musō would have

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 67.

²⁶ For a well-edited collection of Musō’s writings and poetry, see Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*.

²⁷ See Kenneth Kraft, “Musō Kokushi’s Dialogues,” 90 (as above, note 1).

²⁸ See *Nature in Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Environmental Philosophy*, ed. J. Baird Callicott and Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 155.



21. Saihō-ji: Gateway demarcating the lower and upper areas of the temple



22. Saihō-ji: Overhead view of the gateway



23. Saihō-ji: Footpath of stones winds from the gateway to a plateau near the mountaintop
(photo: Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan* [New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1984], 62)



24. Saihō-ji: Combination chapel and teahouse built to commemorate Musō Kokushi



25. Saihō-ji: View to the south from the combined chapel/teahouse

been familiar with the earlier argument of Kobo Daishi (774–835, Kūkai) for the Buddha-Nature of trees and rocks (*mokusekibusshō*). Musō wrote, “[T]here is no desire in nature; desire exists in the mind of man.”²⁹ Buddha-Nature thus could be experienced directly in nature, spontaneously, as nature was unfettered by illusion. Nature simply is. For Musō the experience of nature—movement through nature—also appears pedagogical:

[T]he garden beyond the Ko-jo-kan gate does not welcome the intrusion of outsiders. In fact, it is likely that this part of the temple garden was reserved for special discipline from which the laity was excluded.³⁰

Only about twenty people were residing at *Saihō-ji* at the time: an abbot (Musō Kokushi initially), the abbot’s acolyte or personal attendant, sixteen or so priests, and one or two novices or postulants.³¹ It is likely then that during the early life of the complex the upper garden area was only experienced by successive abbots, by priests, and by invited guests. The upper area gradually became associated with the direct experience of nature, as at *Zuisen-ji*. In addition, several well-known features of the limited-access upper area here remain associated with Musō’s—and resident priests’/select visitors’—practice of seated medita-

²⁹ Sutemi Horiguchi, *Niwa to Kukan Kosei no Dento* (in Japanese only) (Tokyo: Zenjiro Kawasho/Kajima Kenkyusho, 1977), 28–29.

³⁰ Masao Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, 66.

³¹ See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 150.

tion (*zazen*) in nature: in particular, a composition of stones in the shape of a turtle (*kame*) and a composition of stones in the shape of a waterfall.

“A Light Rain Fell Dripping on Him”

During the time of Musō, flat-top stones taken from the land were arranged into a still-celebrated composition called *kame-ishi* (turtle island), referencing the turtle, an important being in Buddhist cosmology.³² Similar to the arbor on the mountain plateau within *Zuisen-ji*, this iconographic complex of stones was placed near a precipice across which still lie distant landscapes and mountains, in particular, to the south (Figs. 26, 27): “Musō Kokushi had a *zazen* stone of medium height to enable him to practice *zazen* . . . in the midst of nature.”³³ This composition of stones continues to be termed a *zazen ishi* by resident priests within the temple, though, I am told, present-day resident priests do not sit in *zazen* on these stones.

Musō modeled the stones for his *zazen* after a legend from China and his veneration of Chinese Zen Buddhist priests. *The Record of the Blue Cliff* (*Hekiganroku*) states:

In the reign of Zhenghe (1111–1117), in the Song Dynasty, a man named Xiong Xiucui made a trip to Mount Xishan in Hong province. As he was being carried up the mountain in a palanquin, a light rain fell dripping on him from the green leaves of the trees. At the end of his climb, he came upon an old white-haired priest seated on a stone [referencing the present *zazen ishi*]. Xiong Xiucui said to the man: ‘Today there are no good priests. I have heard that the famous abbot Liang [whom Musō venerated] secluded himself on this mountain. Perhaps you are that very same Liang.’ In reply, the old priest pointed eastward [referencing the present-day *Shitō-an*; the name itself means pointing to the east]. Xiong Xiucui looked to the east, but when he turned around again the old man was gone. The surface of the stone where he had seen the old man sitting was dry, though rain had wet all the rest.³⁴

Musō appears to have intended that experience of the upper area at *Saihō-ji* to mimic the ascent, rest and seated contemplation, then descent narrated in *The Record of the Blue Cliff*.

³² On the Buddhist ontological significance of the turtle and tortoise, see M.W. DeVisser, *The Dragon in China and Japan* (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1913), 39–42; Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 71; and *The Taiheiki: Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, trans. by Helen Craig McCullough (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 376.

³³ Schaarschmidt-Richter and Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, 253.

³⁴ Ibid. Teiji Itoh elaborates: “[T]he stony mountain path and the trees recall the slopes of Xishan [Western Mountain, referencing the direction around which *Saihō-ji* was oriented symbolically] that Xiong Xiucui ascended in his palanquin, and the garden is accented with a stone called the *zazen*, or ‘seated meditation,’ in reference to that on which Liang was seated.” In reply to Chikahide’s invitation to restore the site, Musō is reputed to have said, “I am happy to be able to live and work in a place that has the same name [western mountains, or *xishan* in Chinese] as the one in Hong province associated with abbot Liang.” See Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 106. See also Yüan-wu (1063–1135), *The Blue Cliff Record*, trans. John and Thomas Cleary (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1977).



26. Saihō-ji: *View of the turtle island of stones*



27. Saihō-ji: *The turtle island of stones is sited near the plateau precipice and is associated with views of mountains to the south.*

Mountain, temple, and the designed movements of participants are constituent aspects of religious landscapes in Buddhist India and China venerated by Musō. Correspondingly, in these his first several temple designs, mountain, buildings, and the movements of participants by design are constituent aspects of Musō's *Buddhist* conception of a religious landscape.

“Not a Drop of Water” in the Stones

Slightly to the northwest of the stones for seated contemplation and the chapel, there is a second aspect of the upper area to this day associated with the enlightened presence of Musō. An intricate composition of stones is nested into the bend of the plateau, where Mount Torigatake resumes its steep ascent to/descent from its summit (Figs. 28, 29). The prevailing interpretation is that this well-known composition of stones evokes a waterfall and that “although there is not a drop of water in this dry-landscape garden [*karesansui*] of huge stones, the spatial composition seems to make the viewer's ears ring with the roar of a great flood.”³⁵ Motion, frozen motion, yet Musō named this composition of stones Mount Ko'inzan. The reference, then, is not to a waterfall but to the mountains of Hung-cho, China, and to the site of a hermitage built by the venerated priest Liang Tsuo-shū in *The Record of the Blue Cliff*.³⁶ Finally, garden scholar Teiji Itoh perceptively suggests that the “waterfall” perhaps also functioned as a staircase of stepping stones leading from the plateau here to the summit of Mount Torigatake.³⁷ If so, then Musō would have perhaps paused here, sat in meditation on the *zazen* stone, only to rise and then once again move deeper into his beloved forests and mountains (Fig. 30).

The Nature of Landscapes and the Landscapes of Nature

In “West Mountain Evening Talk,” Musō wrote directly as to how, from his point of view, we can interpret the design of movement as a vital aspect of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*. When Musō was abbot at *Nanzen-ji*, another senior priest challenged him because

for the last twenty years, ever since you finished your study in the monasteries, you have been moving from one place to another. By now, you have changed the place you live more than ten times. I think this is harmful to a Zen student. It exhausts him and interferes with his practice.

Musō calmly replied:

[I]t was not because of the Buddha's words that I kept moving on. I think of his enlightenment as my home, and I never left that whether I went off to the east or stayed behind in the west. Some people stay at one monastery for a long time, but

³⁵ Hayakawa, *The Garden Art of Japan*, 62.

³⁶ Schaarschmidt-Richter and Mori, *Japanese Gardens*, 180, where Mori states that the waterfall iconographically references a steep, rocky pathway ascending to/descending from a Chinese mountain hermitage.

³⁷ Itoh, *The Gardens of Japan*, 107.

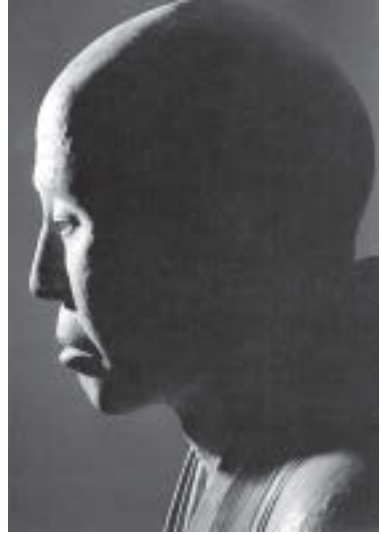


28. Saihō-ji: *Waterfall of stones. A recently added pathway of stones leads to the central stones complex.*



29. Saihō-ji: *Waterfall of stones. Note the steplike quality to the arrangement of the stones.*

30. *Musō Kokushi* (from *Tōchi Yoshioka*, Zen [Osaka: Hoikusha, 1984], 19; photo: Shōkei Hirota)



they do not always sit on the same Zen mat. Sometimes they leave it to wash their hands or faces. Sometimes they walk in the garden or climb a mountain to look out over the country. You might say that they too were rather frivolous. But, *because their minds are fixed on the one point, even when they are moving around, it is not correct to say that they are somewhere else.*³⁸ [emphasis mine]

For Musō, Buddha–Nature was ever–present—whether moving or not moving, sitting (*zazen*) or walking in mindful contemplation (*kinhin*). Sitting/walking; ascending/descending—all are contemplative modes of being present to existence. Both motion and stillness are vital to the layout and experience of *Zuisen-ji* and *Saihō-ji*; each reflects the other and, as Gaston Bachelard reminds us, “[I]n its reflections the world is twice beautiful.”³⁹

Zuisen-ji and *Saihō-ji* were sited and laid out so as to incorporate mountains as a constituent aspect of each temple. In each instance mountains themselves still demand the inclined, often nearly vertical movements of people privileged to experience each temple in its entirety. The religious landscapes associated with the venerable Musō Kokushi are a reminder that the world is a religious mode of being.⁴⁰ Experience of the Temple of the Abundant Flowing Spring and the Temple of the Western Fragrance remains a deeply affecting reminder that garden landscapes of nature often condition a religious mode of being in the world.

³⁸ Merwin and Shigematsu, *Sun at Midnight*, 143.

³⁹ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 199; see also *The Poetics of Reverie*, 171–212.

⁴⁰ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959), 116–59. See also my “Garden as Sacred Space,” in *The Power of Place*, ed. James Swan (Wheaton, Ill.: Quest Books, 1991), 167–87.

“Lordship of the Feet”: Toward a Poetics of Movement in the Garden

John Dixon Hunt

A well chosen Prospect: which I will call the Royalties of Sight. . . . There is Lordship likewise of the Eye (as of the feet) which being a raunging and Imperious, and (I might say) an usurping Sense; can indure no narrow circumscription; but must be fedde, both with extent and varieties.¹

—Sir Henry Wotton

My title is taken from Sir Henry Wotton’s *Elements of Architecture*, where he explicitly, if parenthetically, links lordship of the feet with the primacy of sight. For Wotton, visual mastery of prospects invites and promotes pedestrian mobility. If the eye is wide-ranging and imperious, like a monarch, so, by implication, are the feet, which “can indure no narrow circumscription, but must be fedde, both with extent and varieties.” The “Royalties of Sight,” by which he, like Aristotle, means that sight is paramount among the five senses, take their prerogatives for granted, like any monarch or ruler. Sight is also “usurping” in political terms—hence daring, presumptuous, and even seditious. Thus Wotton designates movement or action as dependent upon vision, which is both powerful and unruly.

Yet the analogy he proposed between seeing and moving is somewhat casual; it is “thrown away” in his own parentheses: “(as of the feet).” He also implied too straightforward a causal connection between seeing and moving, leaving readers wondering what kind of prospects or territory he alludes to in making that connection. Despite these concerns, I share his evident assumptions that gardens are for walking in and their spaces invite exploration, even if they do not ensure either (given the frequency of inclement weather or the disinclination of visitors). In short, no garden exists that cannot be explored on foot, even if all it involves is a turn around the swimming pool or a visit to the sundial, or even,

¹ Wotton, *Elements of Architecture* (London, 1624), 4.

contrariwise, if some eighteenth-century parks were explored also by carriage and on horseback.²

I

I postulate three different kinds of movement in gardens and other designed landscapes: these are termed the procession or ritual, the stroll, and the ramble.³ The procession is a ritual movement that follows both a preordained path and purpose, which is, on account of its prescription, repeatable on innumerable occasions; indeed, such reiteration is expected. Although procession or ritual can take advantage retrospectively of an already extant site, it often requires a site specifically designed for ritual procession, perhaps because the site where it is to take place is required to symbolize or represent another one elsewhere. The route—that is, both the movement itself and its reasons and objectives—is encoded, its prescriptions laid down in some formal record such as social or religious convention or in written text (like the liturgy), the following of which implicit or explicit guidelines constitutes the performance of that ritual. It is likely to be undertaken collectively by a group of visitors who follow an orderly succession of moves and do so on special occasions, whether designated festivals or ad hoc fêtes. However, a solitary version of procession or ritual in which one person consciously sets himself to follow a path established and even endorsed by long-term collective usage is also a possibility. This mode of movement, then, implies a specific route with designated paths and even activities, with socially constructed and endorsed purposes and with some higher objective than the mere performance of the rite and with a wider reference than the site of the ritual itself.

To the procession may be opposed both the stroll and the ramble; however, important distinctions characterize each. (I derived the terms from the famous stroll gardens of China⁴

² As Michael Leslie reminded me, Henry V also visited Kenilworth by barge. The literature of any culture and period will yield sufficient evidence of this general association of movement with the spaces of garden art. Exceptions that undoubtedly prove the rule that gardens are for movement include window boxes, Wardian cases, and rooftop platforms like the Venetian *altane*: there is, e.g., little opportunity for movement of the feet in the “gardens” discussed by Pierre Boitard (attrib.), *Le Jardinier des fenêtres* (Paris, 1829), yet the eye would have presumably been fully engrossed and mobile.

Otherwise, the 17th-century English visitor to Marly records that he was accompanied “much in this walk” by the duke of Villeroi (see Martin Lister, *An Account of Paris, at the Close of the Seventeenth [sic] Century* (London, 1823), 180; I owe this reference to Elizabeth Hyde). An 18th-century Chinese novel, *The Story of the Stone*, contains a chapter where a party tours a considerable section of a newly laid-out patrician park; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, narrates the visit of a smaller group through Julie’s Elysée. In the 19th-century, Jane Austen takes the fictional Elizabeth Bennet on a solitary tour of Pemberley in *Pride and Prejudice* (London, 1813); in the 20th century, a group visit to an extraordinary garden is recounted in Raymond Roussel, *Locus Solus* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974).

³ I owe this triad and its distinctions to David Leatherbarrow, who generously conjured them out of an earlier and bewildered draft of this essay.

⁴ I am indebted to Philip Hu for the choice of my Fig. 3 illustration; for his commentary on the garden and its various representations, see the catalogue that he compiled and edited, *Visible Traces: Rare Books and Special Collections from the National Library of China* (New York: Queens Borough Public Library, 2000), esp. 44–48.

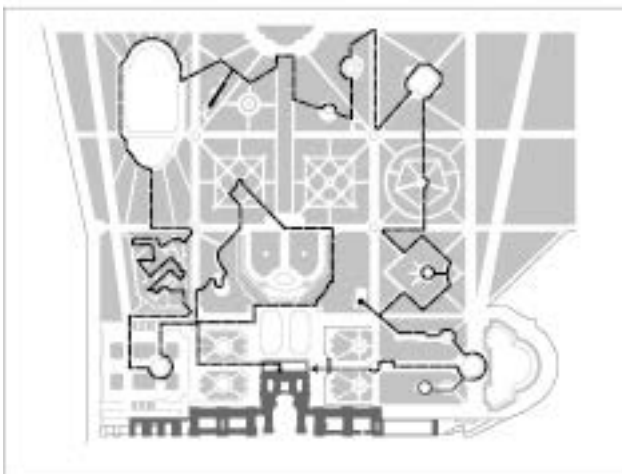
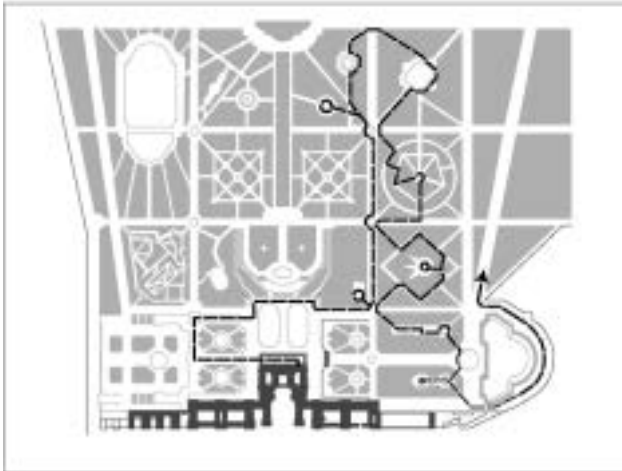


1. *Map of the sacro monte at Varallo (from Galeazzo Alessi, Libro dei misteri, 1565–1569, ed. Anna Maria Brizio and Stefania Perrone [Bologna: A. Forni, 1974]; photo: courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Libraries)*

and from Frederick Law Olmsted's design of the ramble in New York's Central Park.)⁵ Both the stroll and the ramble involve the undertaking or giving of oneself to movement. But the stroll implies an ultimate purpose within the site and a sense of destination—as with the strolling musician who moves about while performing—and deliberation, as suggested in the word *saunter*, which implies self-conscious activity and even some anticipation of being watched by others. Strolling also implies a defined route between whatever incidents punctuate and give rhythm to the movement. As a pastime, it tends to be a small group activity, but individuals may also engage in it.

Rambles, on the other hand, entail movement with no external prompt; they are promoted largely by the will or curiosity of an individual enjoying the leisure to wander. Rambles are for the pleasures of movement itself, without definite or preordained routes or

⁵ The use of the word *ramble* for a designed landscape did not, however, originate with Central Park. There was an earlier ramble in Llewellyn Park (1853–1857) in nearby New Jersey: see Richard Guy Wilson, "Idealism and the Origin of the First American Suburb: Llewellyn Park, New Jersey," *American Art Journal* 11 (October 1979), 79–90; Susan Henderson, "Llewellyn Park: Suburban Idyll," *Journal of Garden History* 7 (1987): 221–43, esp. 231–34.



2. Route maps of Versailles in Louis XIV's guidebooks: 1689 (above), 1691 and 1695 (right), and 1702 to 1704 (below); redrawn by Soon-Hui Long (from *Manière de montrer les jardins de Versailles*, with introduction and commentary by Simone Hoog [Paris, 1992], 68–69)

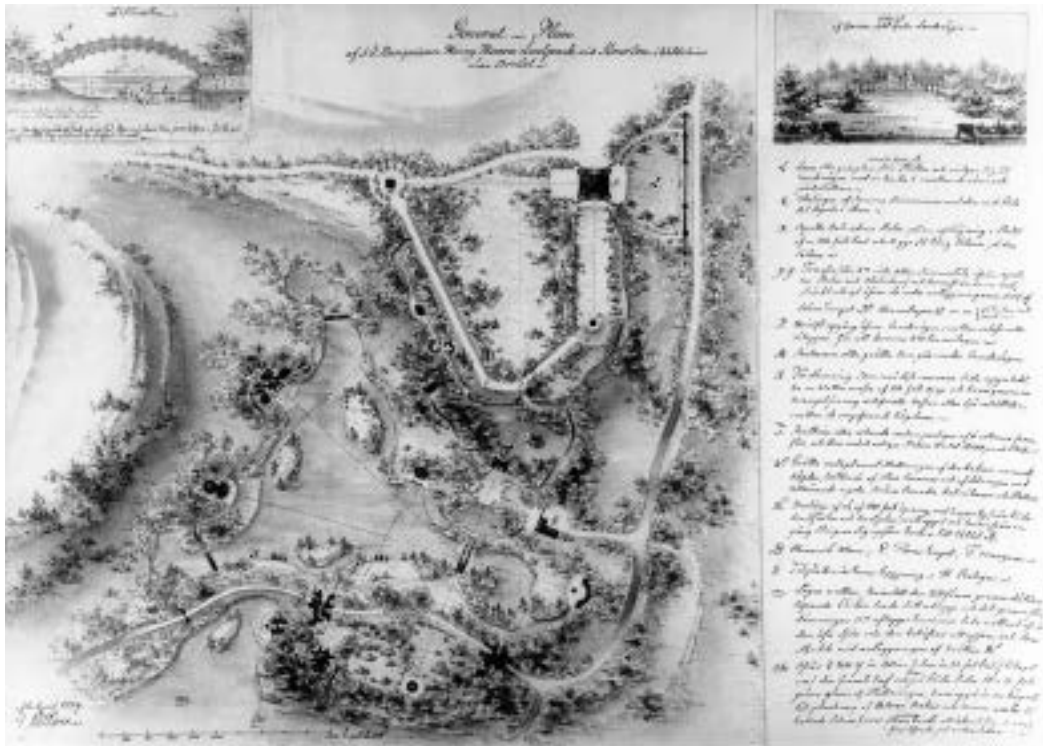


3. Qian Gong, *Illustrated Views of the Gardens around the Hall Encircled by Jade* (detail), woodblock printed handscroll, 24 x 1,486 cm, engraved by Huang Yingzu, ca. 1602, present whereabouts unknown. Facsimile reproduced from extant glass plates of the original (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1994; photo: courtesy of Philip K. Hu)

destinations; a ramble implies impulse, spontaneity, a disconnected wandering, and therefore it is more likely that a ramble is solitary, since one person's disconnections would distract from another's ramble.

Specific examples of landscapes where these three kinds of movement are undertaken are discussed in this section. For designed sites of the procession or ritual, I offer as examples the *sacri monti* of northern Italy (Fig. 1); Versailles as both narrated by Madeleine de Scudéry in 1669 and later envisaged by Louis XIV's guided tours of its gardens (Fig. 2); and Stowe in Buckinghamshire to which eighteenth-century visits were negotiated through the use of detailed guidebooks. The stroll is obviously exemplified by Chinese stroll gardens (Fig. 3); but the famous creation by Henry Hoare II of the circuit around the lake at Stourhead in Wiltshire (Fig. 4) is another example of a site that invites a stroll, as does Isamu Noguchi's California Scenario at Costa Mesa in southern California. His design for this plaza has a much compressed scale, and the movement required entails strolling from one item to another along it (Fig. 5).

Rambling is illustrated with its modern prototype, that eponymous segment of Central Park through which Olmsted planned meandering routes among rocks and densely planted trees and shrubs (Fig. 6). They also include radically different designs, such as the Long Meadow of Prospect Park, where visitors can wander across its open space with no



4. F.M. Piper, map of the lakeside gardens at Stourhead, 1779 (Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm)



5. Isamu Noguchi, California Scenario, Costa Mesa, Calif.



6. Calvert Vaux's and Jacob Mould's plan of Central Park (detail, colored lithograph). The Ramble is immediately to the left of the reservoir, which is on the right (from The 13th Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park for the Year 1869).

obvious destination, and those elaborately contrived and squiggly paths found in early eighteenth-century ground plans of English gardens like Chiswick. Between the decisive gestures of Chiswick's two *pattes-d'oie* are inserted what Stephen Switzer had in 1718 termed a "private and natural turn" (Fig. 7).⁶

It is worthwhile interrogating these distinctions, as well as studying more illustrations, in order to explore other subtle implications of this poetics of movement. Also it may be useful to regard the stroll as a middle term between the procession and the ramble with distinct characteristics of its own. There is even a distinct and useful analogy with the *picturesque*, itself inserted as a third term between the sublime and the beautiful. Indeed, it is likely that the stroll came into its own during the eighteenth century, to suit and be served by the new picturesque garden.⁷

II

The forms originally required on the ground for different kinds of movement and the historical significance of each particularly interest me. Rambles are the simplest of the three proposed modes. They may include actual paths, as in Central Park or inside the arms of the *pattes-d'oie* at Chiswick, or they may leave the precise route to whim, curiosity, or initiative, as at Prospect Park where visitors can ramble across the Long Meadow. Where spaces designed for rambling employ laid-down pathways to suggest specific routes, the numerical possibilities of routing are liable to be many, if not infinite, and are such that no one visitor is likely to

⁶ Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica* (London, 1718), 2: 197.

⁷ See my *Picturesque Garden in Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003).



7. J. Rocque, plan of Chiswick, 1736, from *Vitruvius Britannicus*

follow the same track every time. Moreover, rambling presupposes a dedication to changing the pattern of exploration at each visit to a specific site; where no paths are indicated, there is no guarantee that even the very same visitor will ramble along the same route every time he returns to the site. The ramble design also tends to eliminate visual cues by which a walk might be structured: thus Capability Brown's greensward—though it may occasionally include cues or visual items that call out and demand examination like the obelisk at Blenheim or the view of Longleat House seen high up from Heaven's Gate—does not require any specific course to be plotted across its open landscape, which is so large that a ramble might still be undertaken even if a distinct path toward a destination were indicated; the ramble in this case is a deliberate rejection of other modes of movement. The ramble requires or seeks a natural or naturalistic topography. Olmsted's paths or the squiggly paths at Chiswick were culturally offered as artless in their time, as representations of untracked wilds; by contrast now they seem contrived. As a consequence of this natural impulse, the ramble can also either deliberately screen out what W. H. Auden terms "plausible videnda"⁸ or, as in a Brownian landscape, allow individuals freedom to see whatever they choose and to engage it by movement or not. Wotton's sense that feet follow sight does not apply

⁸ Auden, "The Cave of Making," *About the House* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 18.

strongly here, for sight lines are either reduced to a few meters ahead or do not enforce pedestrian pursuit. Visitors are propelled by their own will and willingness to wander aimlessly. However, in any designed landscape, however large—the garden labyrinth is the prime example—visitors may be confident that their rambling opportunities will eventually bring them to some familiar or safe spot where they can get their bearings. Hikers may get lost if they are unwise enough to ramble in the White Mountains or on Dartmoor, but not in the wilderness at Hampton Court or the wooded valleys of The Leasowes.

Strolls require that same confidence in plotted and designed spaces, but with more prominent cues and prompts, as well as more strongly controlled routing and sight lines. The stroll gardens of China, sites like Stourhead, Painshill, or some of the more social spaces of Central Park have been contrived to give the stroller incentives for moving forward. These incentives are either a clearly designated path or a series of events and incidents along that path, usually both. These can be temples, pavilions, sculpture, seats or benches, inscriptions, urns—anything, in short, to allow some incentive for forward movement and some satisfaction upon the completion of each stage. They can be seen or glimpsed, so that the feet are tempted onward. This implies sight lines, either fully disclosed or half concealed. But it is equally possible to tempt the feet forward by the simple expedient of inspiring confidence that something lies ahead to be discovered, just as the strolling player heads for a village with the assurance that some barn will be available for storming.

Examples from different periods and situations are numerous. The organization of the modern nature reserve usually keeps the stroller to well-defined paths that wind through territory dotted with informational signage and seats for rest and contemplation (Fig. 8), but invitations to push on and discover more are commonplace. It was in such terms that Wotton described movement through some unnamed but “incomparable [Italian] garden,” in part an apt illustration of his “lordship of feet and sight” described elsewhere in his *Elements*.⁹ He first enjoys a view from a high terrace overlooking the site, “from which might bee taken a generall view of the whole Plott below but rather in a delightfull confusion, then with any plaine distinction of the pieces.” Then Wotton’s “Beholder” begins “descending many steps,” and his general and preliminary impressions of the site are then translated into a series of discrete and explicit encounters with “distinct” items: the Beholder “was thereafter conveyed againe . . . By several mountings and valings, to various entertainments of his sent and sight.”

Clearly the exploration of a garden like Pratolino or Villa d’Este¹⁰ involves ascents and descents through its spaces; but Wotton’s use of the passive voice (“was conveyed”) strongly implies that the garden’s design is the incentive for this stroll. Clearly, the Beholder’s strolling is fairly active, but Wotton insists that this motion is being done to him. In the following sentence, also with a passive construction, Wotton expands upon his observation:

⁹ *Elements*, 109–10.

¹⁰ These two sites have generally been considered the most plausible for Wotton’s unnamed garden; thus they serve to exemplify his discussion.



8. *Path in a New Jersey nature reserve*

Every one of these diversities, was as if *he had been* Magically *transported* into a new garden. [emphasis mine]

However, since Wotton refuses to detail the various entertainments he discovered in this fine garden (“for that were poetical”), it is clear that what I call the stroll is more important than some processional route.

This expectation of finding things on a stroll is likely to be culturally derived. As a visiting Englishman, Wotton had obviously learned how to surrender to an Italian garden’s “entertainments”; indeed his writing implies precisely the excitement of this new experience. Equally, during the eighteenth century it was well known that the new or “natural” landscape incorporated follies, *fabriques*, or studied viewpoints worth discovering, even if they were not immediately discernible. Today, garden visitors either know to continue on the stroll for the same reason (anticipating a discovery) or they follow the guide map provided, which holds out an identical promise of items to be encountered. Because Noguchi’s California Scenario condenses his collection of items into a small space, namely, a downtown plaza between high-rise banks and parking garages, his repertoire of items enforces its own cultural response: all are in sight of one another, and strollers move between them in random order, in the confidence that everywhere they turn something is there to confront and consider. This is a confidence learned of modern urban plazas or open space like Battery Park City, of sculpture parks, and even museums.

The site designed for ritual procession is more structured, and its structures establish a pattern or performance of visitation for both returning visitors and new ones.¹¹ Even visitors wholly unacquainted with Catholic ritual can move from one tableau to another through the *sacro monte*, even though its meanings might escape them.¹² What is at stake, though, for the informed believer or educated visitor is a landscape designed to recall or represent, however indexically, the topography of Jerusalem through which Jesus carried his Cross. This originating itinerary has been adapted to other sorts of sites—the urban spaces of Byzantine Constantinople,¹³ for instance. Visitors engage in a stational liturgy, propelled by their knowledge of its significance, which, while expressed in landscape terms, is not intrinsic to it.

Indeed, the liturgy of the Stations of the Cross within a Catholic church has no relation to any topography other than the spaces of the given ecclesiastical structure. The *sacri monti*, as designed landscapes, link their ritual to a physical and processional movement. This process is endlessly repeatable by the same or other visitors, just as it is also capable of being undertaken in segments; that is, only part of the whole process may be experienced in the confidence that the whole system is nonetheless in place and gives meaning to the fragment.¹⁴ Similar layouts, like Count Hodlitz's castle at Roswald in Bohemia, existed outside the *sacro monte* in the later eighteenth century. His underground labyrinth featured a less strict version of the Stations of the Cross in a series of tableaux.¹⁵ Secular or secular-

¹¹ Cf. the attempt at describing the processional or "pilgrimage" garden in William J. Mitchell et al., *The Poetics of the Garden* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

¹² On the *sacri monti*, see Galeazzo Alessi, *Libro dei misteri: Progetto di pianificazione urbanistica, architettónica e figurative de sacro monte di Varallo in Valesia (1565–69)*, ed. Anna Maria Brizio and Stefania Stefani Perrone (Bologna: A. Forni, 1974). Among other studies, see David Leatherbarrow, "The Image and the Setting: A Study of the Sacro Monte at Varallo," *RES* 14 (1987): 107–22, and Rudolf Wittkower, "Sacri Monti in the Italian Alps," *Idea and Image* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 175–84.

¹³ See John F. Baldovin, S.J., *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987); I borrow the common term *stational liturgy* from this source. I am grateful to Nancy Patterson Ševčenko for this reference and for much further good commentary on my text.

¹⁴ The same process is apparent in an otherwise rather different Protestant text, Bernard Palissy's *Recette veritable* (Paris, 1563). Palissy offers a verbal description of a garden designed to reveal and celebrate the God of his Protestant faith; despite its implausible constructions, nothing indicates that Palissy thought it could not be realized. The garden was contrived to recall the wonder of divine creation and the corresponding, creative imagination of man by which God's original making was remade. Movement through it, as narrated by the text, links garden and meadow, grottoes and arbors, terraces and belvederes, plants and animals, sound and color, to the rituals of Protestant worship, in particular to the Twenty-First Psalm, which sustains the controlling narrative. To believers, the scope and form of the design, in whatever sequence its individual elements might be visited, directs their thinking by conducting them through its repertoire of effects. Unlike the *sacri monti* or *Le Roman*, an exact sequence was not a prerequisite for Palissy's movement of ritual or procession; it is the extent and the recognition of an ulterior purpose that constitutes the type of movement enjoined by this garden. A modern edition of Palissy has been edited by Frank Lestringant (Paris: Macula, 1996), and a translation of the garden section is in Helen Morgenthau Fox, *A Delectable Garden* (Peekskill, N.Y.: Watch Hill Press, 1931).

¹⁵ Cited by Anne Grieve, "Fabriques et folies," in *Jardins et paysages: Le style anglais*, ed. A. Parreaux and Michele Plaisant (Lille: Publications de l'Université de Lille III, 1977), 164.



9. *Plan of Jardin Monceau by Louis Carrogis [Carmontelle], from his Jardin de Monceau (Paris, 1779)*

izing versions of these religious ritual or processional movements guided and prompted by a physical design are also easy to instance. A freemasonic example likely includes Carmontelle's Jardin Monceau (Fig. 9). The visitor of the period entered this garden through a Chinese gate, and passing a Gothic laboratory at one side and a pavilion on the other, eventually reached a mirrored wall. Pressing a button, the visitor gained admittance into an elaborate winter garden of exotic effects terminating in a grotto where dinners and probably initiatory rites were held while musicians played in a chamber above.¹⁶ A similar progress took initiates of the Hell-Fire Club at West Wycombe, Berkshire, through creepy underground passages, opening into caverns peopled by mannequins and tableaux.

The French poem *Le Roman de la rose* (Fig. 10)¹⁷ offers an even earlier version of such ritualistic movement. *Le Roman* offers ritual in a literary format negotiated in a fictional dream sequence of movement through an imaginary garden. However, its two authors and many illustrators likely drew upon actual imagery of then contemporary gardens to help readers follow its narrative. The rituals of courtly love are learned and performed by following a journey through the allegorical spaces of this designed landscape. The lover's

¹⁶ Louis Carrogis (called Carmontelle), *Jardin de Monceau* (Paris, 1779); on the Hell-Fire Club, see Betty Kemp, *Sir Francis Dashwood: An 18th-Century Independent* (London: Macmillan, 1867), 131–36; on freemasonry and the garden, see Magnus Olausson, “Freemasonry, Occultism, and the Picturesque Garden towards the End of the 18th Century,” *Art History* 8 (1985): 413–35.

¹⁷ See Guillaume de Loris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la rose*, trans. and ed. Frances Horgan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); originally trans. Geoffrey Chaucer. See any edition of his complete works. For illustrations of other images from *Le Roman*, see John Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens* (London: Batsford, 1981).



10. *Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la rose, ca. 1485, illustrated by anonymous artists (Harley MS 4425, fol. 12v, British Library, London)*

movement, as he journeys toward his desired attainment of the rose, is dictated by the elaborate conventions of courtly love that poets have reified in a series of garden forms and experiences: crossing thresholds, knocking at doors, meeting with familiar or unexpected persons, all of which the illustrators readily depict. The garden exists in the forms that it does in the poem (most likely, literary versions of contemporary garden experience) precisely to direct the lover's movement. He knows where he is and what he has to do because of his immediate location or because some "genius of the place" explains its significance. The poem is a lesson in the ritual of courtship, so that anyone who finds himself in a similar "garden" may know how to conduct himself. The analogies with actual garden processions are clear.



11. J. B. Martin, *Vue de l'orangerie (detail)*, ca. 1600s (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris)

The same *mutatis mutandis* is implied by Madame de Scudéry at Versailles.¹⁸ Here, too, we recognize conventions of courtly behavior as she narrates how her group of visitors promenade, talk and exchange reflections, and acknowledge others in the gardens doing exactly the same; visual accounts of the gardens draw upon their own rhetorical repertoire to recount similar social and ideological assumptions. However, she is also insistent upon the garden's surprises, its variety, and endlessly detailed invention. Her small group of visitors—some already familiar with Versailles as well as one newcomer, *L'Etrangère*—is overwhelmed by the dazzling variety of the gardens, which the text constantly recreates in its incremental notation of effects and items:

You can also see from this same spot other parterres, other fountains, and to the left a nicely somber allée of pine trees, and a thousand different objects.¹⁹

Toward the end of the visit, one viewer exclaims that first “I will conduct you into a labyrinth of rustic berceaux intermingled with statues. . . . We made after that a hundred

¹⁸ My source is a modern edition with an intro. by Allen Weiss; see De Scudéry, Madeleine, *Promenade de Versailles*, repr. ed. (Paris: Mecure de France, 1999).

¹⁹ “On voit aussi de ce même endroit, d'autre parterres, d'autres fontaines; et à la gauche une allée de pins fort somber, et mille objects différents” (45).

walks in these superb gardens,” while through grilles at the end of allées yet further and more agreeable landscapes are discovered.²⁰ Madame de Scudéry was not alone in emphasizing this extraordinary variety.²¹ It was after all a contemporary aesthetic commonplace; but throughout all the recitation of this diversity we are kept focused on how it is all there to glorify Louis XIV, the only begetter and the subject of these gardens.²² Her visitation therefore makes sense of Versailles, not so much by stipulating some required or absolute route, but by rehearsing a movement that allows both an appreciation of the overall diversity and a detailed contemplation of some significant items, where the overall message is given local focus.²³

Though Versailles was not planned as a site for ritual movement, it quickly became one during the 1660s when a combination of formal moves by designers, social conventions outside their control but upon which they could count, and the elaboration of a royal iconography, likewise not confined to the gardens, orchestrated a movement through Versailles. Madame de Scudéry was a privileged exegete of this particular mode of visitation. Her *récit* is a double narrative: of the movement by a small group of courtiers (Fig. 11) and then of what they observed and discussed of the garden’s designed elements that was a covert (but sometimes overt) discourse on the king (“while praising Versailles we turned naturally to speaking about the King”).²⁴

While Madame de Scudéry neither proposed nor implied a specific route for this processional movement, Louis XIV stipulated three different routes around the gardens, in 1689, 1695, and between 1702 and 1704. His laconic guidebooks, of course, simply dictated direction, stipulated turns to the left or right, and recommended essential rests or pauses, during which moments of stasis the visitor was required to “consider” (“there a pause will be made in order to consider the ramps”).²⁵ This suggests: (a) the scope of the perambulation and the attitude with which the movement is undertaken determine the character of the visit more than its exact sequence, and (b) *some* distinct itinerary was

²⁰ “[J]e vous menerais dans un labyrinthe de berceaux rustiques entremêlés de statues. . . . Nous fîmes après cela *cent tours* dans ces superbes jardins,” 53 [emphasis added].

²¹ Another contemporary commentator, André Félibien, felt baffled by the profusion of items: see his *Description Sommaire du Chateau de Versailles* (Paris, 1674); I owe this reference to Claire Goldstein.

²² Weiss claims that Madame de Scudéry deliberately analyzes a “new form of literature, at the origin of which she finds herself” (7), namely, the literary description that will give immortality to perishable creations like landscape architecture. Her literary skills are therefore seen as at the disposal of *la gloire* of Louis XIV, without which it might scarce have survived. Indeed as work on the gardens progressed during Louis’s reign, many incidents were inserted, revised, or removed according to an elaborate program of political self-representation. Thus her praise of Versailles represents her eagerness to give permanence to that particular moment.

²³ The evolution of Versailles from a hunting lodge, itself presumably observing certain rituals, to a royal administrative center is not discussed in this essay; however, the constant reformulation of its *bosquets* and the extension of garden spaces suggests an incremental design where the whole was less important than a series of striking foci.

²⁴ “[E]n louant Versailles on revint naturellement à parler du Roi” (49).

²⁵ “[O]n y fera une pause pour considérer les rampes”: *Manière de montrer les jardins de Versailles par Louis XIV*, with intro. by Simone Hoog (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), 32. This is virtually a random example of many in the text.

needed, perhaps more manipulative of the visitor than any implied by Madame de Scudéry in her earlier *récit*.

Louis's guidebooks (among the first in existence) perpetuate the kind of movements instituted by the elaborate garden fêtes mounted at Versailles in 1664, 1668, and 1674.²⁶ Predicated upon a focused, formal, and processional movement through selected parts of the grounds, their function was to represent what Madame de Scudéry called "the great qualities of the Prince."²⁷ The main difference was that these formal occasions were elaborately scripted, amplified, and conducted with more control. Additional social rituals like ballets, suppers, tilts, plays, and fireworks were enacted in a series of locations within the gardens, which were often extravagantly modified for the occasion or had been finished specifically for an event like the *Ménagerie* in 1664 or the *Bosquet du Marais* and the *Théâtre d'Eau* in 1674. As actors and audiences, sometimes interchangeable, moved about, the formal constructions of the gardens acquired meaning through the rituals invented and enacted in them; temporary in practice—though recorded and broadcast permanently in print and letterpress—these fêtes consolidated a vision of the gardens as best accessed through the movement that I call ritual procession.

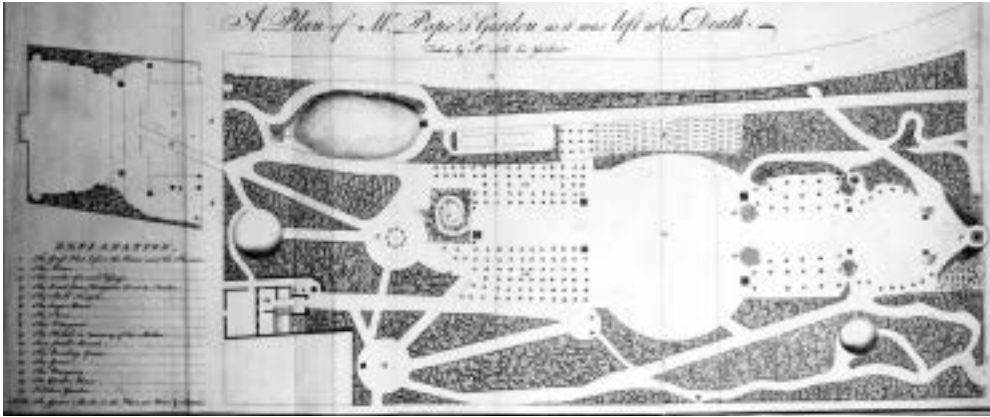
The use of a guidebook by public visitors to any site, or visitors' manipulation by some other determining forms of interpretation, clearly tends toward ritualizing their movement. In this context, then, it is but a short step from Versailles to Stowe. This English landscape garden was especially famous for its multitude of temples, which punned on the Temple family motto, "*Quam templa dilecta*" ("How delightful are the temples"). For Stowe's increasing number of visitors to appreciate fully not only the sheer quantity of items but their individual iconography and the connections or narratives that linked them, a series of publications was quickly devised: an "in-house" poem by Gilbert West in 1732, to which further explanatory footnotes in prose were added to make the exposition even clearer, and from 1744 a series of illustrated guidebooks.²⁸

The necessity of such guidance in negotiating a processional visit to the Stowe gardens is clear from an anonymous visitor of 1742, who constructed his own map of the garden itinerary two years before a published guide was available. It was keyed to detailed

²⁶ The first of these festivities was recorded by Israel Silvestre in eight engravings, the second in a series of prints by Jean Le Pautre, and the third in a set of prints by Le Pautre and François Chauveau. Verbal accounts of these fêtes also exist; see A. Marie, *Naissance de Versailles: Le château—Les jardins*, 2 vols. (Paris: Vincent, Fréal et Cie, 1968), 1: 44–50, 2: 327–35, and 2: 336–42, respectively.

²⁷ "[L]es grands qualités du Prince": Scudéry, 20.

²⁸ This material has been collected and introduced by George Clark, ed., *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe, 1700–1750* (Buckingham: Buckingham Record Society, 1990). The profusion of guidebooks is certainly explained by the ever-increasing visitors, as Clark makes clear. But it also seems that they were necessitated, too, by the gradual alterations in the layout of the gardens during the second quarter of the 18th century. The original scope of the design, with its geometrical grid of sight lines and paths, is set out in the drawing attributed to Charles Bridgeman in the Bodleian Library (reproduced in Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* [London: Zwemmer, 1977], pl. 116). Once that clarity of design was obscured by the acquisition of new land and by different treatments of its spaces and grading, then visitors required more guidance for a full appreciation of the various items.



12. John Searle, plan for Alexander Pope's garden at Twickenham (from a private collection)

notes and some further building plans.²⁹ The youthful William Gilpin used one of these published guidebooks at Stowe five years later, in 1747. His narrative of that visit shows how much he was directed through a processional visit of the grounds, pausing to attend to the significance or visual delight of each item.³⁰ A fossil of such directed movement survives later in his career as picturesque theorist and traveler where he and his disciples often proposed an almost processional movement through selected sites, complete with “stations” from which the best picturesque views would be taken by each visitor who followed the prescribed path. Yet his visit to Stowe also shows that Gilpin succumbed to and appreciated distractions of a less programmed sort. This suggests that other movements were possible through the gardens, therefore leading me to a further refinement of my theme.

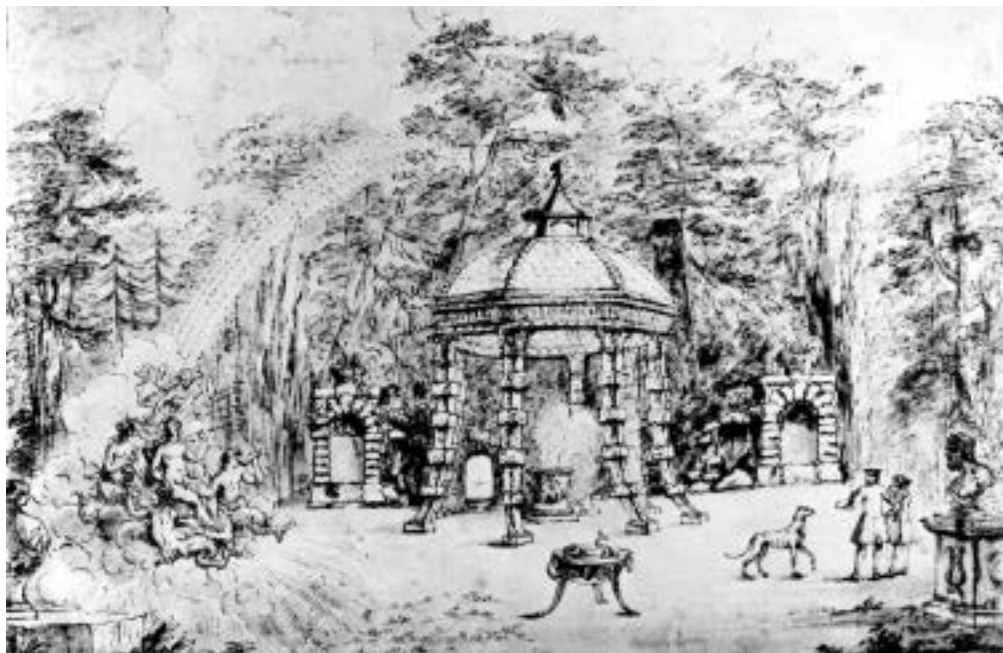
III

Having identified three different kinds of movement and suggested examples of landscapes designed for each or where, at least, each was decisively promoted and accommodated, I turn now to sites that were designed for more than one kind of movement. These sites either incorporated different kinds of spatial treatment during the same historical period or underwent changes to the disposition of the site later on. Alternatively, failure to modify spaces might have led to the same outcome at other such sites. Alexander Pope's Twickenham is an example of the first possibility. It was designed for more than one movement, as was the contemporary Chiswick.

Within Twickenham (Fig. 12) were contrived separate areas for different movements and one sector hospitable to both, according to the whim of its visitor. The central, open area, leading to the cypresses and obelisk dedicated to the memory of Pope's mother,

²⁹ See *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe, 1700–1750*, 112–17; to Clarke's commentary on this “extraordinary” manuscript, I therefore stress its significance in clarifying a certain kind of movement through Stowe.

³⁰ *A Dialogue upon the Gardens . . . at Stowe in Buckinghamshire* (London, 1748; repr. with my intro. [Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1976]).

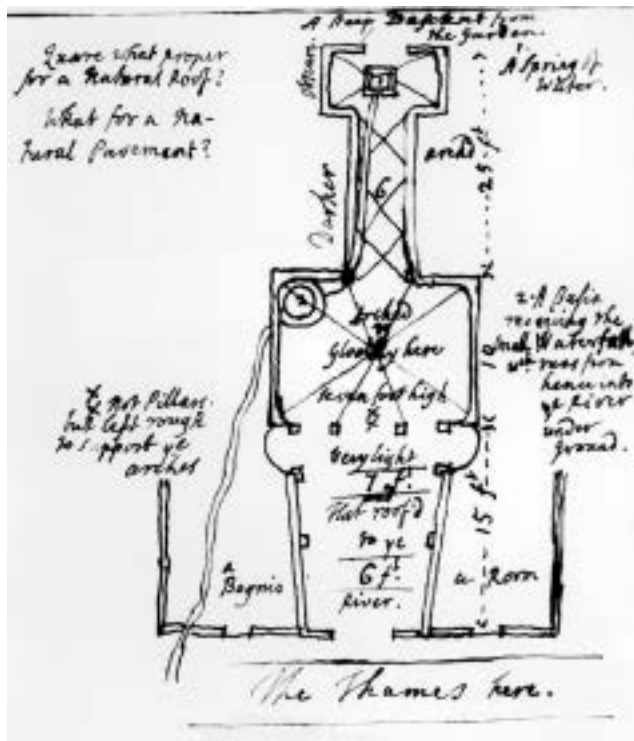


13. *William Kent, Alexander Pope's garden at Twickenham, with a view of the Shell Temple (British Museum, London)*

demanding an appropriately processional movement; indeed, one of William Kent's surviving sketches (Fig. 13) even decorates it wittily with the apparatus of ritual, a temple and smoking altar with descending deities. The meandering paths along the edges of the site, by contrast, provide more scope for strolling, perhaps from urn to urn and with glimpses through the adjacent groves into the central portions before finally reaching the maternal obelisk from an oblique angle.

However, the famous grotto, contrived in what was effectively the basement of the villa, seems to have authorized both kinds of movement (Fig. 14). Most likely, a ritual progress was possible through its rooms, to observe the different emblems and geological specimens encrusted in its walls and ceiling, all the while enunciating their provenance and associations. This is how Pope himself might have conducted visitors, and it is certainly how his gardener, John Searle, set out the grotto visitation after the poet's death. Significantly, he stabilized the authorized ritual in a published text that visitors could follow. Yet, equally, an experience of the grotto must have been available to its originator, and certainly to later generations of visitors, as a more impressionistic series of events. The curious would stroll from room to room without such a precise agenda, as Searle's guide proposed. This is suggested both by Pope's own allusions to the grotto in various poems and letters and by two sketches, almost certainly by Kent, which suggest this more improvisational and personalized understanding of the spaces.³¹

³¹ My point is somewhat contaminated by Pope's mythologizing of the grotto in public pronounce-



14. Alexander Pope, annotated grotto plan, January 1740; present whereabouts unknown (photo: courtesy of Maynard Mack)

Lord Burlington's Chiswick was also designed to accommodate different movements. Moreover, documentation suggests that the forms of the site did not lock visitors permanently into one kind of garden visitation. During the 1720s and 1730s, its *pattes d'oie* invited processional and ritual movement alongside the rambling interiors of its groves. This is clear even from visual imagery: Pieter Andreas Rysbrack, probably in 1729 or 1730, and Jacques Rigaud, about 1734, were each commissioned to depict Burlington's by then famous gardens.³² Both showed ritual or processional movement by groups of visitors. From the viewpoints the artists adopted, it seems that this mode of movement was dictated and sustained by the rather theatrical format of the three-branched *allées* or *pattes-d'oie*, two of which occurred in the grounds by the early 1730s. Rigaud, straight from Paris where his *Les Promenades du Luxembourg* had been published in 1729, is the more insistent on this kind of movement (Fig. 15). Burlington did not entirely appreciate his perhaps too-Frenchified

ments, as Maynard Mack so eloquently demonstrated in *The Garden and the City: Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1969); because my argument is on the grotto as actual space rather than as mythopoetic construct allows my point here. For Kent's sketches of Pope in this private world, see my *William Kent: Landscape Garden Designer* (London: Zwemmer, 1987), cat. nos. 10 and 11.

³² See Jacques Carré, "Through French Eyes: Rigaud's Drawings of Chiswick," *Journal of Garden History* 2 (1982): 133–42; Peter Willis, "Jacques Rigaud's Drawings of Stowe in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 6 (1972): 85–98.



15. Jacques Rigaud, View from the Obelisk at the Burlington Lane Gate, Chiswick, ca. 1733 to 1734 (*Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement*)

narratives of movement in an English garden.³³ Rysbrack, on the other hand, while he confirms this aspect of the grounds, also hints at alternative possibilities. One of his views shows a lady stepping out of—or maybe into—one of the “rambles” concealed within the tall hedges of the *pattes-d’oie* (Fig. 16).

Unfortunately no other record of these sectors exists. Kent, many of whose drawings of Chiswick display intimate moments and private corners,³⁴ did not depict vistas through or movements in these secluded areas between the arms of the *pattes-d’oie*. Even by the 1750s with engravings by John Donowell and slightly earlier imagery of George Lambert, when we might expect more interest in “private and natural turns” in a garden, still no depiction of these inner rambling areas can be found.³⁵ Only Johann Zoffany’s conversation piece of the fourth duke’s children playing in the shady edges of the exedra, with a sideways glimpse into the orange tree garden, is a visualization of the outcome of movement into and use of these more private areas. So perhaps it is significant that he depicted children here. This is a view that Kent had also drawn³⁶ and shows most clearly of all his sketches a similarly impromptu or informal moment among the Burlington household that aptly takes place away from the *pattes-d’oie*.

³³ There was a delay over payment to Rigaud, for which see John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa and Garden at Chiswick* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 267.

³⁴ See Hunt, *Kent*, cat. nos. 23–24, 32–34, 43, 45.

³⁵ For “private and natural turns,” as above, note 6; see reproductions in Harris, *The Palladian Revival*, 256–61 (for Donowell); 250 and 252 (for Lambert); 198 (for Zoffany).

³⁶ See Hunt, *Kent*, cat. no. 45.



16. P. A. Rysbrack, (detail)
View of the Avenue Leading
to the Bagnio, Chiswick, ca.
1729 to 1732 (*Trustees of the
Chatsworth Settlement*)

In four paintings by Rysbrack, however, what I identify as the “middle mode” of movement between procession down the *allées* and rambles within their hedged interiors is evident. Small groups of visitors, coherent clusters rather than the random crowds of Rigaud’s promenades, stroll into previously empty garden spaces (Fig. 17). Twice he showed groups who have arrived above the bason and exedral hedges and are taking what has to have been an oblique view of the site that their movement contrived for them. In two others, Rysbrack represented groups either emerging into the orange tree garden or crossing the bridge toward the Bagnio from the south of the Upper River.³⁷ Since the formal spaces of Chiswick’s layout did not essentially change, we may therefore see the gardens in Rysbrack’s views as being annexed for alternative kinds of exploration and movement.

Like Chiswick and Twickenham, another garden that Pope would have known, Rousham in Oxfordshire, has played a crucial part in the understanding of garden history. Like Stowe, elements here, like its bowling green and long elm walk terminated by the

³⁷ For illustrations of these images other than the one here, see Harris, *The Palladian Revival*, 44, 75, 101, 220, and 228.



17. *P. A. Rysbrack, View of the Orange Tree Garden, Chiswick, with visitors emerging at the rear, ca. late 1720s or early 1730s (Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement)*

statue of Apollo, suggest processional visitations, but it also has circuits that allow various routes for strolling. At the end of the bowling green, for instance, visitors must decide whether to follow the edge of the ha-ha along the paddock or descend obliquely to the theater. Interestingly for this discussion, Rousham never attracted visitors in large numbers (nor does it now); therefore, it never elicited published guidebooks³⁸ to direct a processional or ritual movement through its tight and intimate spaces. Rousham became, and is still essentially, a garden for strolling, not rambling, where the sight and mind are constantly engaged by the surroundings. But strollers have the choice of many different routes, hundreds in fact.³⁹ During the early 1750s, a plan to contrive processional movement through the Rousham garden without altering the grounds was proposed. Its steward McClary, in a letter to the property's long-absent owners, was trying to persuade the family to spend more time at the property.⁴⁰ For their benefit he narrates what he took to be their preferred route through the gardens; it is as if he can succeed in his suasion only if he reminds them of a ritual visitation now sadly unperformed and sunk into neglect owing to the family's continued absence. Indeed, he may have been trying to invent one, and not being a participant in the ritual family way of viewing Rousham, he misses in his account of the garden

³⁸ It still does not have a guidebook, though a plan that identifies the various items is available; however, to my knowledge, it does not direct visitors along any particular route.

³⁹ Hal Moggridge calculates that there are 1,064 ways to visit the garden without ever repeating one's route: "Notes on Kent's garden at Rousham," *Journal of Garden History* 6 (1986): 191.

⁴⁰ See Mavis Batey, "The Way to View Rousham by Kent's Gardener," *Garden History* 11, no. 2 (1983): 125–32.

visit nuances that its intimate members—including Pope, perhaps—would not have neglected; he fails to name the Praeneste Terrace, for example. Generally, his attempt to create or impose ritualized movement seems gauche and factitious. Though McClary's letter has misled modern commentators into believing that one route par excellence exists at Rousham, it more interestingly suggests that Rousham cannot easily be annexed to a general processional movement—as much because nobody seems to have visited the gardens in that way or in sufficient numbers for there to be such a need or expectation, but also because its layout enforces the stroll as the prime means of visitation. In other words, Kent's restructuring of the grounds in 1739 effectively affirmed it as a stroll garden in the contemporary taste for that movement.

However, a personalized processional movement can be invented around almost any site. At Rousham or in the sad remains of Pope's grotto, for example, anyone with a strong historical imagination and sense of piety can imagine retracing the steps of such gardenist heroes as Pope or Kent. They would ritualize a narrative for the place that takes precedence over the actual site itself. Such is the force of naming landscaped spaces after heroic figures. Pope's seat is at Hagley; Kent's seat (very ruined) is at Hackfall; Addison's Walk at Magdalen College, Oxford; Alfred's Tower at Stourhead; Shenstone's Chapel at Enville; and King Alfred's Hall at Cirencester (Fig. 18).

When he visited Rousham in 1764 or thereabouts, Horace Walpole was reminded of the Emperor Julian and the territories where he consorted.⁴¹ Such appropriations may signal the attempt at some precise moment to ritualize movement through sites that otherwise and at other times and for other people are accessed less prescriptively. By associating a visit through Rousham with the Emperor Julian, by naming a seat after Pope or Kent, a fresh history of garden design and use is being inscribed upon that place. And so the stroll devolves into ritual procession.

IV

Accordingly, garden historians need to attend precisely to the points at which a narrative of design—and redesign—intersects with a narrative of use. This is what a focused and detailed study of movement could provide, since individual accounts of movement—whether Scudéry's, Gilpin's, or McClary's—have limitations. The design narrative is conventional, indeed rather tired (and it delights in easy adjudications of “formal” and “informal” as well as in smooth teleological plot lines). The second narrative, guided by what I call a reception theory of gardens,⁴² needs to stockpile far more material and documents, especially where they are relatively scarce. The intersection of this second narrative with the first may substantiate key chapters of conventional garden histories. Moreover, it is likely to challenge

⁴¹ See *Horace Walpole: Gardenist*, ed. Isabel Wakelin Urban Chase (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1943), 29, with an estimate of Walpole's contribution to landscape architecture.

⁴² See esp. *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory* (Philadelphia and London: University of Pennsylvania Press and Thames and Hudson, 2000), 218–19.



18. *Thomas Robins, The Northeast View of King Alfred's Hall, Cirencester, 1763 (British Museum, London [BM 1955-4-25-45])*

them as well as provide perspectives upon periods and kinds of landscape architectural activity that have largely escaped the historian's net.

One fundamental assumption among historians and critics is that movement is a key aspect of the so-called picturesque, natural, or "English" landscape garden; and, conversely perhaps, that looking, not walking, is paramount in prepicturesque gardens. Wotton's "royaltie of sight" would be used to support that view. This misleading distinction is perhaps partly due to the disproportionate availability of documents in the later period. For every brief mention of an Italian garden visit by Wotton or a promenade by Madame de Scudéry, texts like Claude-Henri Watelet's description in a letter to a friend of movement through his garden at Moulin-Joli or George Cumberland's account of visiting the parkland at Hafod can be cited. Both are elaborate and sophisticated accounts of movement.⁴³ However, the Hafod guide contains a map (Fig. 19) designating preferred routes through territory that would otherwise not immediately promote either processional visitation or a stroll. In contrast, a surviving site plan of Moulin-Joli (Fig. 20) represents the site as a series of direct routing choices simply by virtue of its physical layout. From Watelet's own account, however, the formal proscriptions suggested by the plan are not translated into an analogous experience on the ground. So a cluster of reasons has tended to privilege movement in one design style. In the late nineteenth century Camillo Sitte's proposals for town planning according to artistic principles are typical in simply equating picturesque traditions with movement:

⁴³ Watelet's visit is narrated in his *Essai sur les jardins* (Paris, 1774), 138–60. For Hafod, see George Cumberland, *An Attempt to Describe Hafod* (London, 1796).



19. Engraved map, probably by William Blake, of the landscape at Hafod (from George Cumberland, *An Attempt to Describe Hafod* [London, 1796], facsimile repr. with intro. by Jennifer Macve and Andrew Slater (Aberystwyth: Hafod Trust, 1996))

A picturesque effect could be attained by following the natural path of a stroller's feet. Such a graceful curvilinear trajectory is observable in the villages and is an honor to imitate.⁴⁴

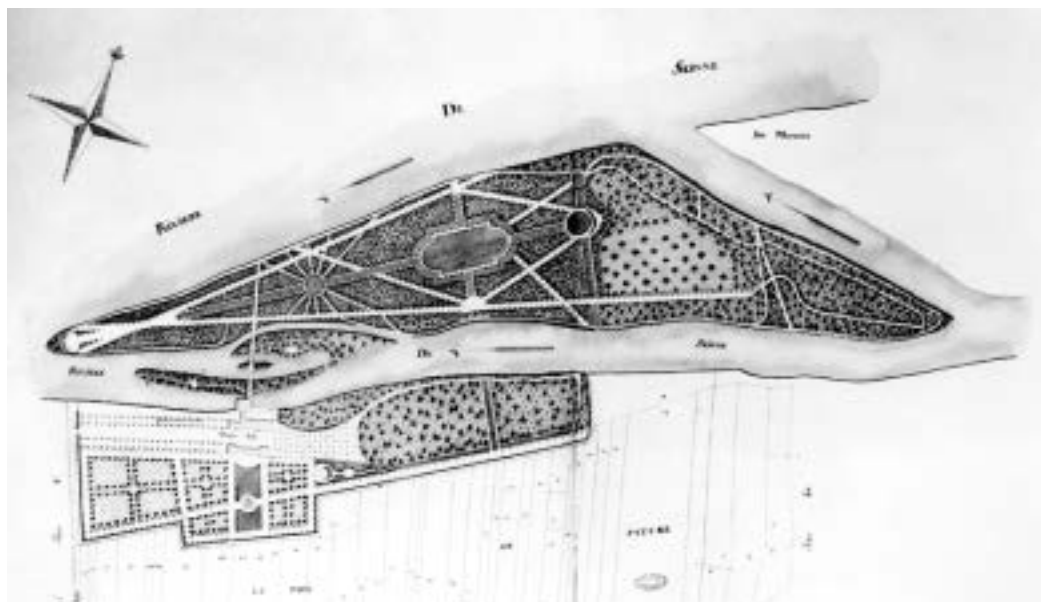
A modern emphasis on ecological process rather than design product has reinforced this connection between movement and “informal” or “natural” designs. Conversely, both by implication and explicit designations, so-called “formal” designs are deemed static. Yet it is only through movement in the spaces of such designs as André Le Nôtre's Vaux-le-Vicomte or Dampierre that we experience their full potential and thereby find this habitual distinction somewhat flawed.⁴⁵ The contrary notion that movement is somehow a specific feature of picturesque design is a modern extrapolation from some influential accounts of “informal” gardens circa 1800, yet another legacy of the Walpolean historiography that is accepted without further consideration.⁴⁶ Consider Walpole's account of the Twickenham garden, where “the passing through the gloom from the grotto to the opening day . . . [and] the cypresses that lead up to [emphasis mine] his mother's tomb”⁴⁷ are the admired features;

⁴⁴ G. R. Collins and C. C. Collins, commenting on Sitte's *Der Stadte-Bau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (1889), in their *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Random House, 1986), 120–21, cited in Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (Boston: Little Brown, 1991), 83.

⁴⁵ Here the exemplary analyses are those of F. Hamilton Hazlehurst in *Gardens of Illusion: The Genius of André Le Nôtre* (Nashville, Tenn., 1980) and “Jules Hardouin Mansart and André Le Nôtre at Dampierre,” in *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art*, ed. John Dixon Hunt and Michel Conan, Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ See my *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory*, chap. 8.

⁴⁷ Horace Walpole: *Gardenist*, 28–29.



20. Plan of Moulin-Joli before 1786 (Archives Nationales, Paris; from Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978])

or Thomas Whately's encomium on Kent's hillside design for Claremont highlights "the walk to the cottage [as] the finest part of the garden . . . Wherein to tarry with secure delight, or saunter with perpetual amusement."⁴⁸ A moment's pause, however, will register that the gardens of *Le Roman* or the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*⁴⁹ record an equally vital element of movement; similarly, documents conventionally deemed inattentive to movement,⁵⁰ namely, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings or graphic representations of garden scenes, offer palpable hints of a similar richness of response via exploration.

Discrimination between different kinds of movement is therefore crucial not only to its poetics but also to an adequately nuanced history of landscape design and visitation, which will seek to see how one movement succumbs to, or surrenders to, or even coexists with another. Physical changes to a site are the most obvious reason for changes in visitation movement, and those that do not change fundamentally (e.g., *sacri monti*) sustain their original invitations to visitors. Conversely, once Stowe had eliminated its parterre and opened up the lawns on the south front, movement into and through the grounds must have changed, however imperceptibly, as the fresh disposition of spaces near the house prepared

⁴⁸ *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London, 1770), 48–50.

⁴⁹ For discussions of garden movements in this work, see the special issue of *Word & Image* 14, nos. 1/2 (1988) ("Garden and Architectural Dreamscape in the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*").

⁵⁰ I refer to the distinction, conventional at least since Lessing, that verbal discourse is more hospitable to recording movement because it too occurs in time; visual images are generally static. Of course, the distinction is not hard and fast.

garden visitors in a different fashion for what lay ahead in the further parts of the garden. Metaphysical changes can also revise the ways that visitors look and move, even when the physical site remains largely unrevised. If the stroll became the movement of choice through the later English landscape garden, we must also register how its very proponents and historians also sought to ritualize it in their writings and inscriptions—all those items named after famous predecessors giving the new garden not only its pedigree but also fresh rituals to be observed in spaces otherwise given over to stroll.

Above all, the dominance today not only of the guidebook but also the interpretative visit give to those sites that were not designed or used in processional ways their ritualistic experience. Even restorations of a sequence of former garden buildings, as for example in the eighteenth-century part of Hestercombe, where I imagine the stroll was originally paramount, now contrive a very different progression through the newly revised spaces, with or without guidebook or other interpretative prompts.⁵¹ It is not simply the reverence given to Thomas Jefferson as a Founding Father that dictates the fashion in which visits to Monticello or Poplar Forest are programmed to ensure a movement through them that is probably contrary to their original design.

Conversely, does every modern visitor to Versailles continue to move processionally through its garden spaces? Is it not possible for them to stroll, or even ramble, against the grain of its original plan? What does such new movement require of historical and critical analyses of sites as they evolve over time? Finally, what does this more complex account of the uses of historical sites suggest to contemporary designers? Do we, for instance, need to cater for one particular visitation or for a variety of them at the same time across the same site? Routine professional assessments or proposals of circulation patterns are probably not enough to promote richer visitor involvements in newly designed spaces.

The *longue durée* of major landscape architecture suggests that designs are great in part because they are hospitable, attracting many kinds of visitors, maybe even from different cultures, in succeeding periods, just as great works of music or theater retain their appeal. So we should study the successive responses to them as is done for most of the arts. For that inquiry a taxonomy of movement, based upon documents that narrate both forms of visitation and the forms of the specific designed landscapes encountered, is vital.

Conventionally enough for her time, Madame de Scudéry saw the gardens at Versailles as improvements upon nature's *landes stériles*, and, by implication, her *récit* could enhance, if not improve upon, the Versailles through which she had moved. That may be claiming too much; yet the Versailles that she walked through in 1669 may arguably be said to exist best, if not solely, in her narrative, which is the closest we may ever get to that lost domain.

⁵¹ On 18th-century Hestercombe, see the privately printed volume by Philip White, *A Gentleman of Fine Taste: The Watercolours of Coplestone Warre Bampfylde, 1720–1791* (Taunton, 1995).

When the Railway Conquered the Garden: Velocity in Parisian and Viennese Parks

Anette Freytag

*Over the last twenty years matter, space, and time have been altered
so as not to resemble what they had always been before.*¹

—Paul Valéry, on the railway

If Edmund Burke had written his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* with its empirical and sensuous conception of aesthetics not in 1757 but a century later, the notions of suddenness, power, obscurity, precipitousness, vastness, and difficulty as the sources of the sublime—of terror as well as of pleasure—would certainly have been complemented by the notion of *velocity*. Speed, and the completely new experience of motion engendered by speed, are two parameters of central importance for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Through them everything was rearranged: time as well as space, landscapes, cities, commerce, and society.

The driving force behind it was industrialization and, in the vanguard, new engineering and the opening up of Europe by means of the railway. In *The Railway Journey*, which is my “traveling companion” for this essay, Wolfgang Schivelbusch describes the groundbreaking role of the railways in the process of mechanization of everyday life.² For him it was innovation in the transitory sphere of life that changed both mental perception and aesthetic ideas: the sensation of speed, the crowds at railway stations, the sequences of visual impressions (Fig. 1). The railway is considered the first industrial object in history with which everyone came into contact. From the middle of the nineteenth century, it has fascinated and shocked all strata of society and has also become a central theme in contemporary arts where it has affected the urban park, a development that was not obvious at its inception.

Special thanks to Tina Parte and Maria Verber for revising this essay and helping me present my thoughts appropriately in English.

¹ “Ni la matière, ni l’espace, ni le temps ne sont depuis vingt ans ce qu’ils ont été depuis toujours.” I found this quotation in the French translation of Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Histoire de voyages en train* (Paris: Le Promeneur, 1990), 39.

² See Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Leamington Spa, Hamburg, and New York: Berg, 1986); originally published as *Geschichte der Eisenbahnreise. Zur Industrialisierung von Raum und Zeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Vienna: Hanser, 1977).



1. Lesser Ury, *At the Friedrichstrasse Railway Station*, *goache on paper*, 1888 (courtesy of Stiftung Stadtmuseum, Berlin)

This essay discusses the transition that has influenced the design and perception of landscapes and parks from the second half of the nineteenth century onward. It also discusses the types of movement and the different ways landscapes before and after the introduction of the steam engine are looked at, and, lastly, it points out how this affected the dissolution of space by speed. A closer observation of Edouard Manet's painting, *The Railway* (1873; Fig. 2), is the starting point for my analysis of two urban parks of the nineteenth century: the Türkenschanzpark in Vienna (constructed 1885–1888; redesigned 1908–1910) and the Buttes-Chaumont in Paris (constructed 1864–1867). Suburban railways run through both and are the starting and vanishing points of their very special landscape designs.

The Railway and the Garden

Manet painted *The Railway* at his studio near Gare Saint-Lazare in Paris; its front door and a window appear in the background. It was here that he tried to experience the rhythm of this modern city as intensely as possible. The floor of the studio trembled with every passing train, “sending up agitated clouds of white steam” to his window.³ Thus, Manet represented himself as a witness of modern urban life.⁴ I once attended an exhibition in which the setting of this painting was reconstructed; immediately it became obvious that

³ Quoted by Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 28.

⁴ T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).



2. Edouard Manet, *The Railway*, oil on canvas, 1873 (courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

the girl and the young woman, both framed by the massive iron grille, are resting in a private garden situated at the edge of the railroad track.⁵ Contrary to earlier interpretations that this is nothing more than another classic “snapshot” of Parisian public life,⁶ Manet seems to be confronting his viewers with a modern walled garden that has somehow become transparent to the external world. In the way the woman is holding her half-open book, she resembles a Madonna in a garden. The child with her back turned is staring at the railway and the cloud of steam ejected by the train that has just passed the garden. A small part of the iron structure of the Pont de l’Europe, the bridge that the train has just passed, appears in the right margin. Beyond this “slice” of the bridge, Manet has arranged a temptingly shiny bunch of grapes. The appearance of the woman, perhaps a maid, differs from the exquisite appearance of the child. With her plain clothes, her evident effort at dressing up, her loosely waving hair, and the black straw hat crowned by a bunch of wildflowers, she introduces a

⁵ *Manet, Monet, and the Gare Saint-Lazare* [exhibition catalogue, Musée d’Orsay, Paris, 9 Feb.–17 May 1998, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 14 June–20 Sept. 1998] (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁶ Among them Herbert, *Impressionism*, 28.

pastoral touch into the scenery. However, “clouds of modernity” will soon penetrate that “walled garden,” much like a train forging its way through the landscape. The white cloud of steam turns into the sign of modern transitoriness. It refers to the train that has already disappeared. The young woman presents to her onlookers a distracted, lost gaze. Witnessing this special, almost biblical event—the genesis of modern life via the railway, a turning point in human history—has become a normal act.⁷

Gail Finney writes that the pastoral is the “product of transition, [and] transition is the characteristic feature of life in the mid-nineteenth century.”⁸ For Manet, the steam engine signified industrial motion and the advent of transition as a daily life experience. The garden represents one of the rare pastoral enclaves that cannot be preserved much longer. In contrast, the train in the Türkenschanzpark is not a danger but rather a welcome attraction within the setting (Fig. 3). Its suburban train has just left the tunnel and is entering the park. The cloud of white steam, colored *after* the photo was taken, rises into the sky and looks like an ornament. Visitors observe this spectacle with great interest, and several benches have been specially placed parallel to the railway track so that everybody can sit to enjoy the view.

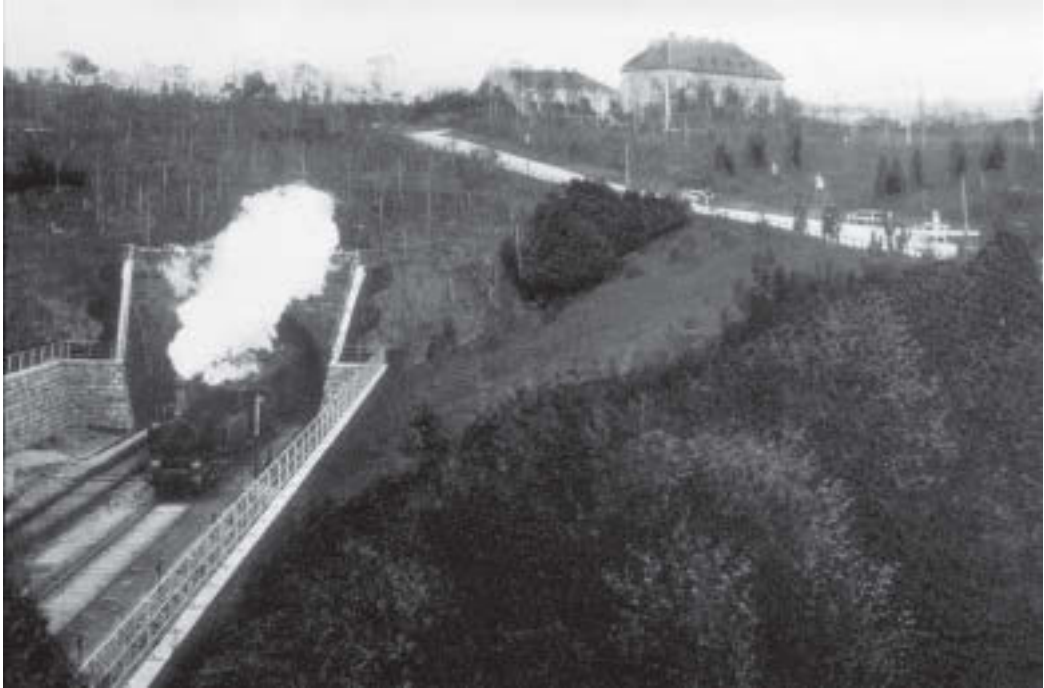
Transition and the Neopastoral Attitude

The Türkenschanzpark was created according to the ideas of architect Heinrich von Ferstel and constructed under the auspices of Gustav Sennholz, head gardener of the city of Vienna. After it was enlarged, it corresponded to and in certain details copied the alpine landscape of the Semmering, a mountain range a hundred kilometers from Vienna.⁹ In 1854 the railway made Semmering accessible to the city, and afterwards it turned into a popular summer resort for the Viennese upper class and intellectual elite. This railway “re-arranged” the landscapes of the Rax, Schneeberg, and Semmering mountains by its impressive high viaducts (Figs. 4, 5). The landscape had a pastoral, almost Arcadian atmosphere: huge pine trees, grazing goats, an abandoned castle, lone hikers. The presence of the viaducts reinforces the pastoral atmosphere; indeed, they inspire the artists to create a pastoral setting, for they provide the necessary modern contrast. The appearance of a new technological beauty shaped a long-familiar landscape in a new way. The railroad made it accessible to

⁷ On 5 May 1843, with dramatic words, German author Heinrich Heine commented on the opening of the railway lines Paris-Orleans and Paris-Rouen, calling the advent of the railway an initiation for modern life and comparing it to the discovery of America: “This is the way our forefathers must have felt when America was discovered, when the invention of gunpowder was announced by the first gunshots, when the printing press sent the first galley proofs of the divine words into the world . . . a new era in world history has begun and our generation can boast of taking part in it.” See Heine, “Lutetia,” in *Sämtliche Schriften*, vol. 5, ed. Karl Heinz Stahl (Munich: Hanser, 1974), 2, 62, 448 f.

⁸ Finney, *The Counterfeit Idyll: The Garden Ideal and Social Reality in 19th-Century Fiction* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984), 5.

⁹ The enlargement was carried out under the director of urban planning for the city of Vienna (Goldmund) and the director of public parks (Wenzel Hybler). Both had also visited Buttes-Chaumont. Cf. Renate Schweitzer, “Der Türkenschanzpark. Ein Abriß seiner Entstehungsgeschichte,” *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* (1968): 309–16, as well as Cordula Loidl-Reisch, *Der Türkenschanzpark: Der Park aus der Sicht der Denkmalpflege* (Vienna: Bundesdenkmalamt, Parkpflegewerk, 1993).



3. *Railway at the Türkenschanzpark, color postcard, ca. 1910 (courtesy of the Historisches Museum, Vienna)*

a new group of visitors, mainly city dwellers, who sought aesthetic enjoyment of nature and made the neopastoral a veritable fashion (Fig. 6). It seems only natural that the Viennese upper class did not want to be away from the mountains for too long and were delighted to find their summer resort *en miniature* within the city. There also it could be enjoyed finally by the middle and working classes as well.

The Türkenschanzpark was situated in a residential area, and plans were made to erect a railway station imitating the Semmering, which at the time of its inauguration in 1854 was the highest point that could be reached by rail anywhere in the world. The train station was supposed to be erected behind the main hill of the garden with its lookout tower, as shown in an 1898 painting by Johann Varrone (Fig. 7).¹⁰ An interesting detail is the pictorial integration of the main hill in the Türkenschanzpark with the nearby mountains of the Vienna Woods, Kahlenberg, and Cobenzl, thereby allowing the hill to claim the right to be a mountain. Visitors would be able to hike in the pseudo-alpine landscape, decorated by mountain streams, a waterfall, alpine-styled shelters, and forest clearings imitating those at the Semmering, not to mention an alpine garden with gentian and *edelweiss* (Figs. 8, 9).

¹⁰ The suburban railway opened along with the second part of Türkenschanzpark in 1910. The railway station was intended to give the final touch to the alpine landscape, but for financial reasons it was never built. There were discussions of building a station in the rebuilding work throughout the park to restore its special alpine atmosphere; see Loidl-Reisch, *Türkenschanzpark*, 8, 91.



4. "The Great Semmering Railway," from the Illustrated London News supplement, 1 December 1860. Collection of Ronald Stifter, Weppersdorf (from Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, Die Eroberung der Landschaft: Semmering, Rax, Schneeberg [Vienna: Falter Verlag, 1992])



5. Anonymous, Semmering Railroad at Klam, lithograph, ca. 1870 (courtesy of Niederösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Topographische Sammlung)



6. Two women clad in typical alpine attire at a photography studio, ca. 1900. Collection of Thomas Reinagl, Vienna (from *Die Eroberung*)



7. Johann Varrone, *The Türkenschanzpark*, oil on paper, 1898 (courtesy of the Historisches Museum, Vienna)



8. Forest clearing,
the Semmering, ca. 1982
(photo: Kristian Sottriffer)

The neopastoral motif not only became a fashion and an important theme in contemporary park design but also a central theme in the fine arts. Claude Monet's *Railroad Bridge of Argenteuil* (1873) shows a scene of modern life similar to those frequently represented by contemporary painters (Fig. 10). T. J. Clark comments:

Train passing over, smoke becoming cloud: boat passing under, sail just entering the shade. If only modernity were always like this!¹¹

A similar detail appears in a wood engraving of Buttes-Chaumont (Fig. 11) found in Jean Adolphe Alphand's *Les Promenades de Paris*.¹² In the foreground, visitors are represented as small figures, lost in admiration at the sight of the huge, artificial rock massif at the center of the park and of the two bridges that make it accessible: a brick bridge thirty meters above ground, similar to those at the Semmering, and a steel-cable suspension bridge, which the visitors in the foreground are turning to with great interest. One man is even reaching for his telescope in order to see better. This masterpiece of contemporary engineering was Gustav Eiffel's chef d'oeuvre inconnu, an extravagant contribution to the park, which opened in 1867 as part of the World's Fair (Fig. 12).¹³ Masses dissolve into a light, delicate structure

¹¹ Clark, *Painting of Modern Life*, 190.

¹² See Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: Rothschild, 1867–1873). This voluminous “architectural theory” contains all of Alphand's works for Paris, not just Buttes-Chaumont. A short good analysis of this work was given in Antoine Grumbach, “Les Promenades des Paris,” *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 185 (1976): 97–106.

¹³ See Michel Vernes, “L'Œuvre d'Adolphe Alphand: Du Jardin au territoire,” a paper on *suburbanisme* and *paysage* presented at a meeting of the Société Française des Architectes, 5 March 1997, Paris.



9. *Forest clearing, the Türkenschanzpark, 2000*



10. *Claude Monet, The Railroad Bridge of Argenteuil, 1873, private collection (from T.J. Clark, The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986])*



11. *Vue des falaises, Buttes-Chaumont*, wood engraving (from Jean Adolphe Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*, 2 vols. [Paris: Rothschild, 1867–1873])

suspended from the rocks, floating in midair, and yet entirely stable, although the bridge spans a remarkable sixty-five meters. It gives new dynamics to the rocky ersatz mountain that the bridge appears to penetrate with great force. The contrast between modern bridges, signs of a new engineering age, and the fake archaic landscape underlines the neopastoral atmosphere in the park. These contradictions seem harmonized by the admiring looks of the passersby as they take in these “creations” existing side by side.

The steel-cable bridge corresponds to the concept of contemporary aesthetics. “When we think of Impressionism,” asks Robert Herbert, “do we not think first of its rejection of traditional mass and modeling in favor of color and light?”¹⁴ Subsequently he drew a parallel to the new layout of Paris, Baron Georges Haussmann’s endeavor to fill the town with light and air—through its wide new avenues and its countless parks and tree-lined squares—covering about two thousand hectares within twenty years.¹⁵ These locations become scenes of the neopastoral attitude where leisure and idleness for everyone predominate, almost like in an egalitarian society; indeed, it was a dream come true.

Paths and Railway Tracks

The New World also developed a serious interest in the neopastoral, and it had already become a major topic in literature, arts, and politics in the first decades of the nine-

¹⁴ Herbert, *Impressionism*, 28.

¹⁵ Françoise Choay, “Haussmann et le système des espaces verts parisiens,” *Revue de l’art* 29 (1975): 83–98.



12. Steel-cable suspension bridge, Buttes-Chaumont, 1997

teenth century. The opening up of the North American continent by the railroad played a central role in this process. Leo Marx aptly called the American railway the “machine in the garden.”¹⁶ It opened up and connected areas that up to then had been quite untouched; it disturbed the solemn peace in the “Virgin Land.”¹⁷ *The Lackawanna Valley* (1855; Fig. 13) by

¹⁶ It became the title of an influential book in which he analyzed 19th-century American literature and its influence on politics of the 19th and 20th centuries; see Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964 and 2000). The cause that triggered the American neopastoral attitude was the same as in Europe; context and sociopolitical consequences were, however, different. The New World was stylized as a paradisiacal wilderness and hostile desert at the same time. Its civilization was a great task that demanded an immense workforce and the solidarity of the community. See Marx: “To describe America as a hideous wilderness, however, is to envisage it as another field for the exercise of power. This violent image expresses a need to mobilize energy, postpone immediate pleasures, and rehearse the perils and purposes of the community. Life in a garden is relaxed, quiet and sweet . . . but survival in a howling desert demands action, the unceasing manipulation and mastery of the forces of nature, including, of course, human nature. Colonies established in the desert require aggressive, intellectual, controlled, and well-disciplined people. It is hardly surprising that the . . . Puritans favored the hideous wilderness image of the American landscape” (43). Unlike in Europe, where an effect of industrialization was the strong augmentation of leisure time and tourism, American pastoral/neopastoral attitudes were twofold: they marked the motor of civilization and the loss of wilderness.

¹⁷ In the introduction, Marx, *The Machine*, quotes Nathaniel Hawthorne, who had written of his visual and sensual experiences in the woods of Concord, Mass., during July 1844. Hawthorne’s report was also a homage to Henry Thoreau, who lived in these woods while working on *Walden*. At first, Hawthorne heard only the twittering of birds, the chirping of cicadas, and the humming of bees. After awhile he heard a church



13. George Innes, *The Lackawanna Valley*, oil on canvas, 1855 (courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

George Innes was commissioned to depict the repair shop, the roundhouse, and some of the smoking trains of the Lackawanna Railroad Company. Despite its banal subject matter, this painting became one of the most famous in America in the nineteenth century. The landscape is evenly flooded by light and air. This atmosphere softly envelops the various objects, and so the different spheres—the landscape, the village, and the technological plants—are harmonized. The airborne emissions from the stacks do not contaminate the scene but confer a rhythmic, nearly ornamental touch. This is a refined, modern *fête champêtre*. A hiker in a bright straw hat rests on a slope near a mighty deciduous tree. As he is contemplating this modern panorama, a train steams by. Behind are the roundhouse, from which the next train is about to leave, the repair shop, and a village with its church and houses. Beyond is the hilly landscape of the Lackawanna valley. The hiker can enjoy this view only because the woods in front of him have been felled. The remaining tree trunks resemble fresh scars on the landscape. Around the rest of the woodland, however, the track moves in a respectful curve instead of cutting through in a straight line. Thus the bend in the track becomes a gesture of reconciliation with nature. The hiker, with the trodden path at his

bell in the vicinity and then the whistle of a locomotive: “[T]he long shriek, harsh, above all harshness, for the space of a mile cannot mollify it into harmony” (13). The same happens in *Walden*. Marx calls this “the little event,” which is the starting point of his analysis of the thorough cultural and political changes in the United States stemming from the introduction of the machine.

back, clearly had walked this route. Having arrived, he has a “front row seat” at a crossroads. Unlike the classical Hercules, Innes’s subject cannot choose: both paths have become railway tracks; along both, the machine is leading society into the future. Despite a simple composition, Innes has managed to symbolize a turning point for society as it struggled between old, trodden ways and speedy technological developments whose destinations were sometimes threatening and unclear. At the time he was painting, the debate about motion and the replacement of human or animal forces by the machine had reached a climax. This debate also had an effect on park design. Walking through Buttes-Chaumont, for example, a perceptive and attentive pedestrian notes a system of paths indicating three kinds of movement: walking, driving, and riding on a train. Each has advantages, disadvantages, peculiarities, and possibilities as well as a unique relationship to the landscape and perception of it. The distinct differences in the paths with respect to gradient, width, surface, and setting are striking. By analyzing the different kinds of paths within the two parks and the types of movement and the modes of perception, it is possible to understand the special features of their design and their differences from the English landscape garden.

Importantly, the designers for both parks were engaged in the refurbishing of their cities and, particularly, in the construction of new roads and means of transport. Indeed, this was the case for most urban parks of that time.¹⁸ Their main efforts were directed at layout. As demonstrated by a historical photograph of the Türkenschanzpark (Fig. 14), its winding paths were densely built and were the dominant element of its design. In Buttes-Chaumont, two of the three years of construction between 1864 and 1867 were dedicated to layout: the terrain and system of paths were paramount from the beginning (Fig. 15). As Paris was leveled by Haussmann to facilitate transport, Alphand decided to erect a huge rock in the center of the park. Whereas the maze of medieval streets of Paris was destroyed to make room for straight boulevards wherein movement was accelerated, the paths in Buttes-Chaumont meander through the landscape.

Urban parks appeared like an alternative world where winding curves somewhat reduced the speed of urban life. In the reconstruction of Paris, Haussmann used the railroad as his technological model.¹⁹ It seemed as if a railway engineer had executed the project. The ideal street, according to Newton’s Laws of Motion, is smooth, level, and straight, and the railway line comes close to this ideal; modern streets likewise follow this example. Loss of speed by friction is minimized; the resistance of the landscape is dissolved by bridges, leveling, and tunnels. As a consequence, trains can reach their maximum speeds and shoot like rockets through the landscape.²⁰

¹⁸ Architect Heinrich von Ferstel worked as a consultant for the new layout of Vienna and designed many buildings along the famous Ringstraße. Goldemund, responsible for the enlargement of the Türkenschanzpark, was at that time the city’s director of urban planning. Alphand, as the engineer responsible for Buttes-Chaumont, was director of the Service des Promenades et Plantations de la Ville de Paris and also director of the Voie Publique. (For other impacts that this duality of responsibilities had on Alphand’s park design, see Marie Luisa Marceca, “Reservoir, Circulation, Residue: J.C.A. Alphand, Technological Beauty, and the Green City,” *Lotus International* 30 [1981]: 56–79.)

¹⁹ According to Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 182 f.

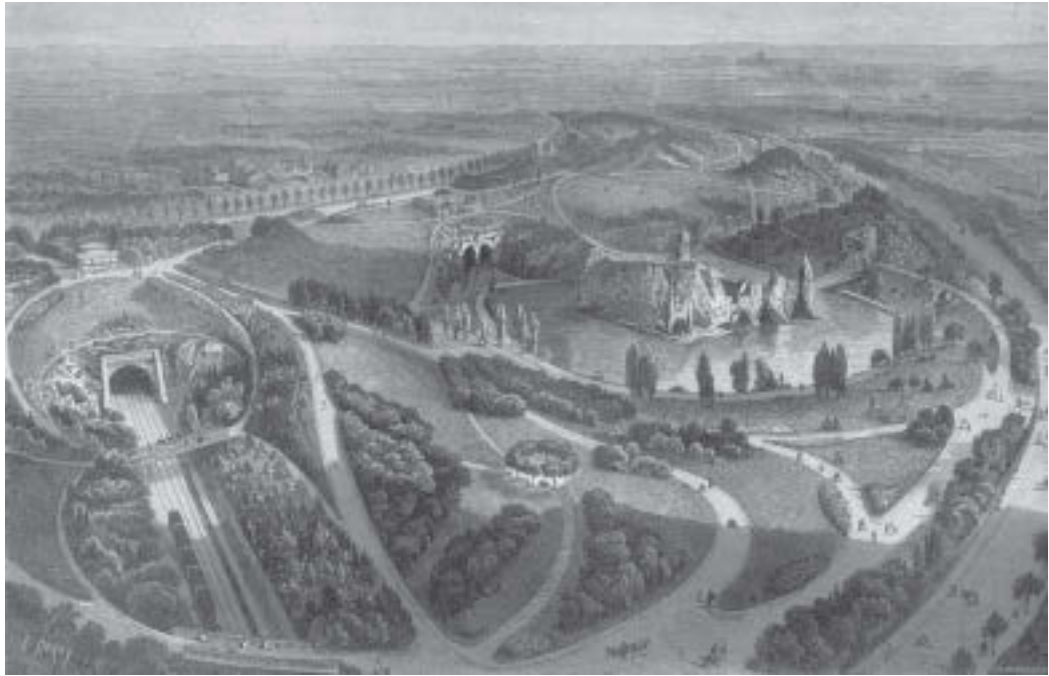
²⁰ Schivelbusch uses the picture of the projectile throughout.



14. *Layout and system of paths at the Türkenschanzpark, ca. 1910 (courtesy of Historisches Museum, Vienna)*

In Buttes-Chaumont, the promenades form a ring around its different sections. They are wide with smoother surfaces and significantly smaller gradients than other paths. Hence, the bourgeoisie could take their carriages along them. Smaller, steeper paths were designed for pedestrians. These link the promenades and lead to a number of hills. In general, these were footpaths in an explicitly rural setting: stairs made of tree trunks or stone replicas, paths following creeks, stones, or fake tree trunks functioning as passages. Undoubtedly, pedestrians feel the exertion while taking these paths (Fig. 16). Additional playful elements, even slightly risky situations, may be experienced in the same way as on a hiking trip. The entire zone around the railway is designed as deep, dark woods. It takes hikers along small paths at the edge of steep slopes; it is experienced as a walk through a mountainous landscape—the railroad always in sight.

The system of paths in the Türkenschanzpark is similar to that of Buttes-Chaumont, but the latter has fewer steep paths. Interestingly, these steep paths are always located near the alpine sections: the waterfall, the alpine garden, or the lookout tower (Fig. 17). Also, meadows and “mountain pastures” have gradients of up to forty-five degrees, which are considered challenges for pedestrians. By contrast, the straight line of the railway is mirrored by the bridges within the parks. The two bridges in Buttes-Chaumont overcome the rocky landscape, surmounting every canyon, whereas a dwindling path leads up the north side of the rock (Figs. 18, 19). The footpath raises awareness of the strained slowness of motion, for the irregular movements of pedestrians and animals are linked to physical strength and efficiency. However, it also illustrates how humans can adapt to a landscape and follow



15. Bird's-eye view of Buttes-Chaumont, engraving (from Alphand, *Les Promenades*)

its rhythm. The engravings of *Les Promenades de Paris* offer a striking representation of pedestrians in Buttes-Chaumont. They usually appear in the same scale as nearby plants or stones, and sometimes their clothes are drawn in the same coarse way as the surroundings. For example, the two women admiring the waterfall (Fig. 20) appear as merged with their environment in a kind of equal partnership. The irregularity of the movement of pedestrians and animals limits movement and speed, but both may adapt to the shape of the surrounding landscape.

In contrast, the straight, flat line is the hallmark of industrial movement. Endless continuity and acceleration characterized steam power, and the rail tracks had to be laid out carefully. They cut through a mature landscape, and, though destroying parts of it, they reshaped the ensemble.²¹ Visitors can climb the rocks or walk into the “mountains.” While “resting” along the way, they can watch trains whiz by before they disappear into the next tunnel.

²¹ It is documented how much Alphand enjoyed the transformation of landscape by the railway and its bridges. Alphand (see Alphand and Ernouf, *L'Art des jardins: Parcs, jardins, promenades* [Paris: Rothschild, 1886]) describes the view from the hill of Gravell in another of his œuvres, the Bois des Vincennes: “In the distance to the right appeared the capital; then further the slopes that stand over Versailles. . . . Two railways, that of Lyon and that of Orléans, enliven the landscape with the waving plumes of smoke from their locomotives. To the north stands the castle of Vincennes and, behind, the peaks of Belleville. . . . And finally, as a backdrop to the view, one perceives the magnificent viaduct of the Mulhouse railway whose arches stand clearly against the blue sky.”



18–19. Buttes-Chaumont: (left) Brick bridge, 2000, and (right) the north side of the rock with the dwindling footpath (photo: Géza Hajós)

Dynamics of Sight and the Emphasis on Circulation

While humans can sense speed when riding on a train, at the same time there is the danger of losing the sensual experience of nature. Riding through the Türkenschanzpark (the suburban line in Paris has been closed for decades), it is possible only to catch a glimpse of the landscape above and imagine its beauty; to benefit fully from it requires coming back on foot (Fig. 21).²² The same applied to a ride up to the Semmering. While on the train, passengers could anticipate which landscapes they would later explore (Fig. 22). According to a popular anecdote, the Emperor Franz Joseph I stopped the train to enjoy a particularly beautiful view during his first ride up to the Semmering. This indicates that the history of newly opened landscapes is also a history of sight. Typical train travelers could not stop the train like a royal; with the opportunity only for fleeting glances, they

²² A bird's-eye view of Buttes-Chaumont hints at the different scales of speed that lead to different ways of experiencing the surrounding world; the black geometric hole of the tunnel evidently corresponds to the entrance of the grotto. For the train traveler, however, the mountain does not hold any secret but darkness, whereas the city dweller who reaches the grotto on foot can admire the majestic beauty of a 30-m waterfall and concrete stalagmites.



20. Two women (lower right) at the upper part of the waterfall, Buttes-Chaumont, wood engraving (from Alphand, *Les Promenades*)

had to be attentive in order to perceive the passing landscape. I call this *the dynamics of sight*, a concept that was first acknowledged as a special phenomenon during a train ride but later came to have an effect on modern-day perceptions as a whole.²³

As they rode, passengers took pictures, which were later reproduced on postcards called “dioramas,” which presented the Semmering landscape as if densely stratified (Fig. 23). They serve to illustrate the rapidly passing perception of landscape. In the course of industrialization, the “ability to view” changed, and the volume of pictorial impressions rose rapidly. Thus Benjamin Gastineau described the movement of a train through the landscape as dancing.²⁴ Speed moved pieces of scenery closer to one another, even though they had belonged to distant and distinctly different areas. To Schivelbusch, this was “panoramic” travel:

Panoramic perception, in contrast to traditional perception, no longer belonged to

²³ See Georg Simmel, “Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben,” *Die Großstadt* (Dresden: Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung, 1903), 187–205 (French trans.: Simmel, “Les Grands villes et la vie de l’esprit,” *Philosophie de la modernité. La Femme, la ville, l’individualisme* [Paris: Payot, 1989], 232–52).

²⁴ In Gastineau’s 1861 travel brochure, “La Vie en chemin de fer” (Life on the Railway); this notion is also in Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 60 f.



21. *Train traveling on tracks adjoining the Türkenschanzpark*

the same space as the perceived objects: the traveler saw the objects, landscapes, etc., through the apparatus which moved him through the world. That machine and the motion it created became integrated into his visual perception. . . . That mobility of vision—for a traditionally orientated sensorium, such as Ruskin's, an agent for the dissolution of reality—became a prerequisite for the “normality” of panoramic vision. This vision no longer experienced evanescence: evanescent reality had become the new reality.²⁵

The dynamics of sight had also an effect on urban park design from the second half of the nineteenth century onward. The frequent bends in the paths and the vistas that quickly follow one another produce a kind of staccato, a continuously fresh stimulation of perception: a vista has just opened up into the valley and beyond, to the district of the city surrounding the park; then a moment later our eyes are caught by another attraction beside the path: a spring gushing from the ground, a shelter, a wooden fence that seems to have grown there naturally. The continuous wandering of our eyes, inspired by the specific landscape design, is similar to the experience of a train ride: a continuous gliding past discontinuous images that opens up a new accelerated way of perceiving landscape. The “great rhetorical places” (Ian Hamilton Finlay) of the English landscape garden are somewhat diminished. The shortening of time is reproduced in the landscape design.

²⁵ Ibid., 64. In another chapter, Schivelbusch also includes a discussion of the new evanescent reality of glass constructions.



22. *The Railway toward the Semmering, lithograph after a drawing by Friedrich von Exter, ca. 1855 (Collection of Wolfgang Kos, Vienna)*

The layouts of these Viennese and Parisian parks also constitute an ideal network of paths for pedestrians under crowded conditions. Circulation became one of the most important preoccupations in urban park design after 1843.²⁶ Likewise, modern street design does not aim primarily to accentuate particular buildings but to maintain traffic flow.²⁷

²⁶ Throughout that year Joseph Paxton worked on his design for the Birkenhead park near Liverpool, which marked a turning point in urban park design and influenced many park designers, among them Olmsted, Kemp, and Alphand. Paxton designed a pattern of paths for the circulation of visitors that separated different types of traffic. See George F. Chadwick, *The Work of Sir Joseph Paxton, 1803–1865* (London: Architectural Press, 1961), 53–69; and *The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (London: Architectural Press, 1966).

²⁷ Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Studio Vista, 1969), and Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).



23. *Diorama unfolded:*
 “The Railway toward the
 Semmering.” *Collection of*
Thomas Reinagl, Vienna (from
Die Eroberung)

Thus urban park paths allow access to different attractions that have become more of a decorum for them. It is the paths themselves and motion that are of central importance.

When a Train Links Different Worlds

Preindustrial means of movement and transport preserved the continuum of space they traveled because of the mimetic relationship with topography. With the advent of the steam engine, the Atlantic had been reduced to half its size and the Bosphorus was no wider than Fifth Avenue.²⁸ The railway by its enormous speed dissolved the given space continuum. Two distant places could suddenly be “close.” As Heinrich Heine put it in 1843:

I feel as if all mountains and forests of all countries approach Paris. I already smell the perfume of German lime trees. In front of my door the North Sea is roaring.²⁹

The Viennese and Parisian park designs discussed here exemplify the dissolution of the

²⁸ According to the *Quarterly Review* 63 (1839): 23; in Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 10.

²⁹ Heine, “Lutetia,” 449 (as above, note 7).



24. *Inspiration for Buttes-Chaumont: Rocks of Étretât on the coast of Normandy (photo: Christian Huemer)*

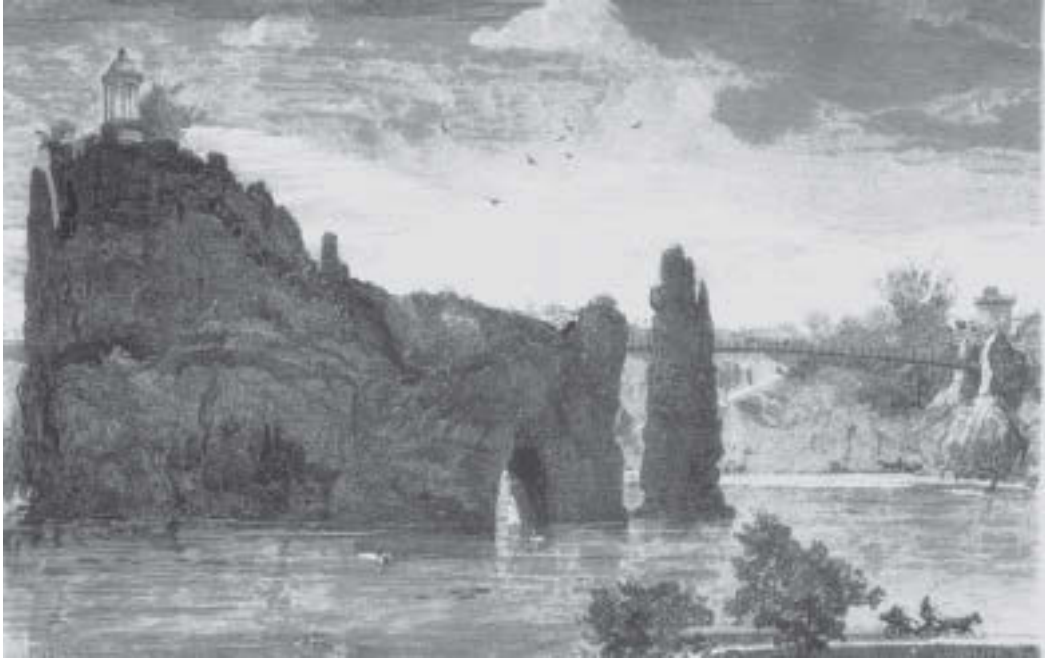
time-space continuum and the minimization of the landscape by the railway. The “park experience” visualizes the gesture of the time: standing on the steel-cable bridge, visitors can feel the city and the landscape approaching each other. Visitors can either direct their gaze toward the unspoiled nature of the rugged rocks or face the urban landscape. Distances cease to be problematic; they are “bridged over.” Parisians know this rocky landscape well. It is a replica of the Rocks of Étretât on the Norman coast (Figs. 24, 25). Since the construction of the railway, trips to the coast had become popular. “Untamed nature” turned into landscape, opened up as a novel diversion for the aesthetic enjoyment of excursionists. The bridge in the park exemplifies a new aspect of life initiated by modern engineering and speed. Town and country are now separated only by a turn of the head.

As a consequence of industrialization, excursions to the countryside began on a large scale, thus penetrating nature and arranging it into a landscape (Fig. 26). The establishment of the railway marked the advent of the modern tourist trade, where nature becomes only the coulisse for the daily spectacle and the luggage of the well-educated excursionist includes hiking boots *and* formal dinner attire.

Still covered with the dust of the capital city, but already in the midst of an alpine countryside. Mountains rising against the blue sky make a great backdrop, inviting you to plunge body and soul into the enjoyment of nature.³⁰

This diminishing of distances, the speed at which destinations could be reached, and their

³⁰ Quoted from a guidebook to Semmering; in Kos, *Semmering*, 100.



25. *A vision for the Buttes-Chaumont landscape inspired by the Rocks of Etretât. Vue donnant sur le lac, Buttes-Chaumont, wood engraving (from Alphand, Les Promenades)*

new proximity and accessibility fascinated *everyone* of the era. It became possible to live simultaneously in two worlds. In poor health, Sigmund Freud rented a villa on the Semmering and enthused, “[It is a place] from where I can easily go to Vienna and back in one day.”³¹

It is significant that the park design was oriented not only toward the recently rediscovered landscapes near Vienna and Paris. Landscapes opened up by the railway were also linked to the garden: “Life as garden art,” wrote Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, enthusiastically describing his stay on the Semmering.³² Pierre Joseph Proudhon declared the whole French nation an enormous garden thanks to the established railway network.³³ The image of the city, always within reach, created the necessary differentiation for the new aesthetics of landscape and initiated the neopastoral lifestyle. The city park mirrored the landscapes of the then popular excursion destinations. The railway crossing the parks presented the newly established link between two different worlds that now influenced each other.

³¹ Sigmund Freud to Karl Abraham, 4 July 1924, in *Sigmund Freud: Sein Leben in Bildern und Texten* (1976); also quoted by Kos, *Semmering*, 9.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Marc Baroli, ed., *Lignes et lettres: Anthologie littéraire du chemin de fer* (Paris: Hachette, 1978). Schivelbusch (as above, note 2), 34 f., does not establish a link to “the world as garden” but to the “world as a metropolis” by mentioning an article in an issue of the *Quarterly Review* (1839), which states that an entire nation could soon be incorporated into a metropolis if the establishment of transport lines continues at the same speed. Apart from Europe, the advent of the railway as “machine in the garden” of the New World was a central theme in 19th-century American literature; see Marx, *Machine in the Garden*.

26. Tourism made possible by the advent of the railway: These excursionists at the Semmering were at the vanguard. (Collection of Ronald Stifter [from *Die Eroberung*])



Traveling at High Speed to the Isles of the Blest

The press statements announcing the advent of the modern TGV (*train à grande vitesse*) system in France mirrored the enthusiasm for the railway that had been evident in its early days:

One moves in order to admire it . . . the technological miracle . . . a heroic feat [and] gem [of French technology, which] awards a certain chic to its environment . . . an orange arrow within the rest of the countryside.³⁴

It was in 1993 that an urban garden called the Jardin Atlantique opened atop the new Paris-Montparnasse TGV station (Fig. 27). Notably, more than a hundred years beforehand, Stéphane Mallarmé had proclaimed Normandy and Brittany part of the

³⁴ Press statements quoted in Agnès Fortier, “Le TGV—Train à Grande Vitesse,” in *Paysage au pluriel. Pour une approche ethnologique des paysages*, Collection Ethnologie de la France, Cahier 9, 107–13: “[Il a] sa faculté maîtresse dans la perception de l’espace et du paysage. Il incarne à lui seul un modèle de prouesse technique. [Il est] un fleuron de la technologie française . . . il donne un certain chic à l’environnement . . . une flèche orange dans le reste de la campagne. . . . On se déplace pour aller l’admirer.”



27. Cross-sectional view, plan for the Jardin Atlantique (courtesy of François Brun and Michel Peña)

Western Railway,³⁵ meaning that the railway station served as the gateway to these distant French landscapes. In 1874 this was discussed only theoretically from the point of view of aesthetics. Now within the Jardin Atlantique, landscape architects François Brun and Michel Peña have designed an area of three-and-a-half hectares composed of plantings of species that can be found in their native environments via TGV within a few hours of Paris (Fig. 28). Visitors also find allusions to past European discoveries and conquests. The poetic and symbolic plot of the design expresses the innate desire to be omnipresent; European imperialism and its conquest of landscapes were after all just one of the consequences of this human longing. The huge masts of the sextant sculpted by Bernard Vié function as a memory of the European ships that discovered the New World and therefore they are placed in the section of the garden that was given this name. The masts compete with the Montparnasse Tower. The latter seems to reach the sky, and both sky and tower are mirrored on the façade of a high-rise building that separates the garden from the outside (Fig. 29). This effect changes the fully windowed façade into a vertical blue surface that has a watered effect. Opposite, the imaginary ship seems about to embark on a journey, while the lower-lying trains *do leave* the garden in the *same* direction, taking their passengers to the coast. Those left behind can watch the “ship” or play on the “sandy beach” of the “vertical sea” above the station (Fig. 30). So the garden reaches out to the Atlantic, whose waves are “breaking” near the center of Paris.³⁶

With the ocean as their leitmotif, the designers established a dense plot that evokes

³⁵ Mallarmé, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Pléiade, 1970), 774; in Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 39.

³⁶ This is one example of the poetical references to movement, industrial as well as natural, within the design. The sky was the only natural feature that the team could make out when they visited the site in 1986 to prepare for competition. Both arriving passengers and Parisians were covered by the same sky, which “brought” the weather from the coast to Paris; the Atlantic was the main destination for the departing trains; thus it became their leitmotif. See Brun, Peña, and Schnitzler-Peña, “Le Jardin Atlantique,” 41–46.



28. *La Salle des plantes ondoyantes, Jardin Atlantique, 1997*

myths and memories of past voyages and discoveries.³⁷ The zones representing the New World and the Old World are separated by the stony sceneries of Mount Atlas on which the heavens were fabled to rest. The Isle of the Blest, a garden with golden apples guarded by the Hesperides, has moved from the western extremity of the ancient world to the center of an urban park in Paris-Montparnasse.³⁸ A wide path alluding to railway tracks leads to the island, following the same direction as the departing TGV trains.

Within a century, the speed of trains had doubled, bringing formerly distant landscapes closer. Communication in its various forms and speed nowadays seem to be almost more sublime than nature,³⁹ shrinking the world into an enormous garden or, according to the less optimistic, into a largely destroyed sphere penetrated by never-ending wires, tracks, and traces.⁴⁰

³⁷ The deepest soil layer does not exceed 1.7 m. Hence, the plant roots had to be specially laid horizontally. For definitions of the garden zones, cf. also Brun, Peña, and Christine Schnitzler-Peña, "Le Jardin Atlantique," *Paysage actualités* 114 (1989): 41–46; Brun and Peña, "Les Formes de la nature dans le jardin contemporain," in *Les Parcs et jardins de demain*, Actes du colloque par l'Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, Paris, 4–7 Oct. 1989 (Paris: Presse de l'Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, 1990), 143–46.

³⁸ The sculpture in the middle of the island holds a parabolic mirror. Ironically, the light it captures should enlighten the somber section of the park that represents the New World. Was this another Eurocentric attempt at enlightenment?

³⁹ This was discussed, e.g., by Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (1984), 53–92; and Ulrich Beck, *Risikogesellschaft. Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1986).

⁴⁰ Cf. Chris Burden's 1990s' sculpture *Medusa's Head*, Gagosian Gallery, Chicago.

29. *Bernard Vié, Sextant, and the
Montparnasse Tower, 1997*



30. *"Vértical sea," Jardin Atlantique, 1997*

Pedestrians making their way through the Jardin Atlantique cannot help but perceive the noise of the trains and the stench of the underground that infiltrate the surroundings. A promenade through the park is not quiet: the noisy signals of the trains alternate with the splashing of fountains “announcing the roaring sea.” Whenever a train departs, the *ceiling* above the station, which is also the *soil* for the garden, begins to tremble.

And even as the pedestrians in the park are shaken by the departing train, the TGV has already left in conquest of new destinations.

Movement and Stillness in Ming Writings on Gardens

Stanislaus Fung

In modern scholarship on Chinese gardens, the most important discussion on motion and the experience of gardens is a series of five essays by Professor Chen Congzhou published as a collection under the title of *Shuo yuan* in 1983. Published in English in 1984 and two years later in Japanese, his collection enjoyed wide circulation outside China. In *Shuo yuan*, part 1 (1978), the late Professor Chen introduced a set of key terms that recur throughout this study: *jing* (stasis, stillness, or quietness), *dong* (motion or movement), *jingguan* (viewing in repose or viewing in stillness), and *dongguan* (viewing in motion). He writes:

In gardens there is a distinction between viewing in repose (*jingguan*) and viewing in motion (*dongguan*). This must be the first and foremost consideration in the design of gardens. Viewing in repose means that visitors are offered many vantage points where they might linger; viewing in motion means that there should be fairly long touring routes. Considering these two [notions] together, in smaller gardens viewing in repose should be dominant; viewing in motion is subsidiary in them. Courtyard gardens are chiefly devoted to viewing in repose. In larger gardens, viewing in motion is predominant; viewing in repose is subsidiary in them. The former [i.e., a smaller garden, viewing in repose] is like the Garden of the Master of Nets in Suzhou; the latter [i.e., a larger garden, viewing in motion] is approximated by the Garden of the Unsuccessful Politician.¹

This well-known passage is the most succinct statement of the notions of viewing in repose and viewing in motion in modern Chinese. A casual reading first reveals that a key distinction between two correlative notions is announced as the foremost consideration in garden design; secondly, these notions are aligned with a number of different design elements

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¹ Chen Congzhou, *Shuo yuan/On Chinese Gardens* (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 1984), Chinese text, pt. 1. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

(vantage points and touring routes) and with the relative sizes of sites (larger gardens and smaller ones); and third, that two famous Suzhou gardens (one relatively large and the other relatively small) are offered as examples.

Elsewhere in Professor Chen's work, one finds a further elaboration on motion in *Shuo yuan*, part 5 (1982):

In the first part of *Shuo yuan*, I explained the notions of viewing in motion and viewing in repose. I had not exhausted what I had in mind and propose to discuss them further now. The characters *dong* (motion) and *jing* (stillness/repose) are basically understood correlatively (*xiang dui er yan*). Where there is motion there must be stillness; where there is stillness there must be motion; and in garden scenery, stillness is lodged in motion and motion arises from stillness. The multiplicity of their transformations and the subtle wonder of the scenery created emerge inexhaustibly layer after layer. This is what is called penetrating the transformations (*tong qi bian*); the patterns of the world are accomplished thereby. For example, as one sits in repose in a pavilion, the hanging clouds and flowing waters, birds flying and flowers falling, are all [in] motion. Among passing boats and people walking, rocks and trees are in repose. Still water is in repose, and the fish in it are moving. As stillness and motion interweave, they naturally create fine [aesthetic] interest. Thus scenery emerges as one observes motion while in repose and stillness while in motion.²

The terms in which the experience of garden design are couched by Professor Chen seem readily assimilable to Western understanding. Even though one would not expect the mutuality of motion and stillness discussed in this passage to be treated in Western discourse in the same way, the particulars of garden experience (hanging clouds, flowing waters, etc.) seem very much like a phenomenological account of motion in Western gardens. Like most readers of Professor Chen's work, I had thought that his remarks were relatively straightforward and self-evident. But the more I considered them overall, the more puzzling I found them. I argue that to the extent that Professor Chen's remarks might appear self-evident, they might actually constitute an obstacle to a deeper understanding of motion and Chinese gardens.

Three strategic imperatives form the background of this discussion: (1) articulating the assumptions and inferences on which the self-evidence of Professor Chen's remarks may depend. Considering that *dongguan* and *jingguan* are the foremost considerations in garden design, why did Professor Chen devote fewer than a thousand words to them in more than fifty years of scholarship? Articulating assumptions and inferences is one way of enlarging the considerations that Professor Chen had raised in a compact way; (2) highlighting Western sources that instantiate inappropriate or irrelevant assumptions that one should not impute to the cultural horizons of Chinese discourse; and (3) correlating inves-

² Ibid., Chinese text, 89.

tigations of garden history and comparative philosophy. In what follows I draw especially on the recent work of the comparative philosopher Wu Kuang-ming.

Discovering Layers of Meaning

The traditional terms that Professor Chen invokes—*dong* and *jing*—are prominent in a range of traditional Chinese discourses. There are three historical strata of usage involved. First, in classical philosophy, the Daoist masters Laozi and Zhuangzi developed the notion of *jing* (quietness, stillness) as the natural disposition of sages.³ In military strategy, for example, movement and stillness of armies are discussed in terms of timeliness of activation and the propensity of situational forces. *Dong* and *jing* are polar terms that require each other for their definition and derive from the basic understanding of alternations in terms of *yin* and *yang*. *Yin* is becoming *yang*, and vice versa; similarly motion (*dong*) and stillness (*jing*) are mutually implicated.

Second, from the Song period (960–1270) onward, in Neo-Confucian philosophy, responding to what was then considered the gradual decline of Chinese culture, Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), Cheng Yi (1033–1107), Cheng Hao (1032–1085), and others reiterated the importance of *jing* as a sagely disposition, but countered what they perceived to be a quietistic attitude in Daoism and Buddhism that might be contrary to social action by pointing to a sense of *ding* or settledness in both *jing* and *dong*.⁴ This settledness does not mean a lack of movement or “a stolid imperturbability or fixation on a set destination but as maintaining a clear direction, an unswerving orientation in conduct.”⁵ This became the immediate context of discussions of gardens and buildings in the Song and Ming periods with buildings called *Jing Zhai* (Studio of Stillness), *Le Jing Zhai* (Studio of Happiness in Stillness), and such.

The personal literary collections in the Imperial Library (*Si ku quan shu*) amount to more than 3,300 essays on buildings and gardens from the Ming period alone. Scanning their selections, I found three buildings each named *Jingguan* (Viewing in Repose).⁶ The essays that discuss these buildings all refer to the philosophical context. Indeed, *jingguan* is discussed as very much a matter of self-cultivation, of the fusion of subject and object rather than as a matter of the making of scenic compositions. Although I have not read all the relevant essays in the Imperial Library, it appears that *jingguan* is not a common term in them; nor have I been able to locate any usage of *dongguan* in these holdings.

Third, with Professor Chen, there exists a distinct shift in the focus of concern from

³ Zhang Dainian, *Zhongguo zhexue dagang* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982), 438.

⁴ Ibid., 439 f.

⁵ Peter D. Hershock, *Liberating Intimacy: Enlightenment and Social Virtuosity in Ch'an Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 100.

⁶ Wang Ao (12 Sept. 1450–14 April 1506), “Jing Guan Lou ji” (Record of the Storied Pavilion for Viewing in Stillness), in idem, *Zhen ze ji, Ying yin Wen Yuan Ge Si ku quan shu* (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–1986), vol. 1256, 291. Wang Bo (provincial graduate of 1538), “Jing Guan Tang ji” (Record of the Hall for Viewing in Stillness), in idem, *Lu Zhai ji, Ying yin Wen Yuan Ge Si ku quan shu*, vol. 1186, 75. Sang Yue (fl. 1465), “Jing Guan Ting ji” in *Ming wen hai*, ed., Huang Zongxi, *Ying yin Wen Yuan Ge Si ku quan shu*, vol. 1456, 643.

self-cultivation in literati discourse to garden design and the experience of gardens in a contemporary setting. On the one hand, he echoes the traditional correlative understanding of *dong* and *jing*; they are understood as giving rise to each other and being interwoven in experience. But *dong* and *jing*, as the terms of an inner psychomachy in the process of self-cultivation, have been kept out of the frame of discussion. Drawing on the traditional correlation of *dong* and *jing*, Professor Chen worked analogically to fashion a new key term *dongguan* as the counterpart of *jingguan*. *Jingguan* had in earlier discourse referred to a particular contemplative state in encountering scenery and the affairs of the world in general, or, more accurately, to the particular character of regard that is paid to things. In the new context of Professor Chen's work, as viewing in repose, it came to characterize a manner of encountering garden scenery from a fixed vantage point.

Taking Bearings

Two preliminary observations may be interposed here, one methodological and the other cross-cultural. When I set out to write about the sense of motion and Ming gardens, I turned to Professor Chen's remarks because they were a logical starting point for the interpretation of Ming sources. However, the remarks on *dongguan* and *jingguan* that I have adduced are not so much a historian's explications of two traditional notions but are more akin to contemporary extensions of traditional terms. Professor Chen's remarks are creative in that they extend a traditional understanding of motion/stasis in the domain of garden design. Instead of holding *Shuo yuan* as a secondary source that can offer assistance for interpreting primary sources from the Ming period, I sensed a blurring of the distinction between primary and secondary sources. The explication of Professor Chen's remarks would occur in tandem with the exploration of traditional sources; they would be mutually illuminating.

Second, Professor Chen invokes a traditional frame of reference that he assumes his readers would share and so adduces terms without highlighting their cultural specificity. Among modern scholars of Chinese gardens, he was unique in his attempt to instantiate and perform traditional manners of discourse. His writings are widely appreciated for their literary quality and are read as often as belle-lettristic pieces as for their substantive content. Tone and rhythm dominate in maintaining a sense of coherence in his writings, while logical and historical argumentation recede. *Shuo yuan* addresses a general literate readership and informally discusses different fields of Chinese artistic and cultural endeavor. This informality has tended to encourage casual readings in which the cultural specificity of the text is most at risk. This risk might be increased in the contexts of translation and assimilation to Western horizons of tourism and of architecture and landscape architecture. Two Western books on Chinese gardens serve to highlight some divergences.

Misreadings

In *Scholar Gardens of China*, R. Stewart Johnston cites Professor Chen's discussion on viewing in motion and viewing in repose in apparent agreement, but Johnston discusses

“design concepts and techniques [in terms of] the placing of objects, the organization of space, [and] the organization of movement.”⁷ Here we can see a profound shift of perspective. Whereas Professor Chen highlights a sensibility of movement as the primary consideration, Johnston names “the siting of [built] objects” as the first objective in Chinese garden design.⁸ Whereas Professor Chen’s sensibility of movement is contextualized by an awareness of the relative sizing of particular sites, Johnston de-emphasizes the sense of relative sizing by pursuing a comparative analysis of movement in six Suzhou gardens with plans of different scales.

Professor Chen’s discussion of motion/stillness as eventful correlation—“sitting in a pavilion, passing clouds and flowing waters, birds in flight and flowers falling”—contrasts with Johnston’s formalistic view of gardens as objects and space, in which movement is organized according to an a priori plan. Whereas people and all manner of natural phenomena are caught up in Professor Chen’s account of motion/stillness, Johnston’s understanding of movement is centered on objectified human bodies in space. The third and last objective of garden design in Johnston’s account, “the organization of movement [entails] pathway routes throughout the garden, laying down and ordering the patterns of movement which linked and penetrated every part and which acted as the structural spine of the garden.”⁹ The static formation of the garden in plan seems to order the movements of human inhabitation. This one-way causal determination of movement contrasts readily with Professor Chen’s mutuality of motion/stillness.

Florence Lee Powell’s *In the Chinese Garden* offers readers “photographic tours” of two Suzhou gardens. This was the first Western attempt to present a sequence of photographs to evoke the experience of moving through a Suzhou garden. Powell leads readers through a darkened passage where a wall opening offers a view of the central part of the garden. She points out, “The Chinese enjoy their gardens sitting down and have pavilions conveniently placed.”¹⁰

Powell has made three assumptions in her photographic narrative. First, movement through the garden is a movement through empty space. Spaces of movement and of repose are separate; movements of the human body through these spaces are highlighted, and other movements are not considered. This contrasts with the interweaving of motion and stillness in human and natural phenomena in Professor Chen’s work.

Second, Powell’s meanings of scenic elements are static and codified as symbolism: for instance, rocks and mountains represent the *yang* and are correlated with man and good, while water represents the *yin* and is aligned with woman and trouble. This level of interpretation is absent in Professor Chen’s work.

⁷ Johnston, *Scholar Gardens of China: A Study and Analysis of the Spatial Design of the Chinese Private Garden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 74–93.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Florence Lee Powell, *In the Chinese Garden: A Photographic Tour of the Complete Chinese Garden, with Text Explaining Its Symbolism, as Seen in the Liu Yuan (The Liu Garden) and the Shi Tzu Lin (The Forest of Lions), Two Famous Chinese Gardens in the City of Soochow, Kiangsu Province, China* (New York: John Day, 1943), 30.

Third, the viewer takes pleasure in what he sees: Powell calls attention to a reflection “framed by the leaning and supported old camphor tree with its soft green foliage [that] offers joyous relief from the severity of winter.”¹¹ Missing are the poetic allusions and sentiments that Professor Chen would insist are the evocative counterpart of scenery.

“Replenishing the Empty”

Contemporary landscape architects would not be surprised that the world in which they operate is not simply a visible world. Ecological processes, for instance, are not always immediately perceivable. Yet in much of Chinese garden history, we are still under the spell of a perceptual faith in the authority of photographic presence. But there are telling signs in modern scholarship that the time is ripe for challenging the idea that one can simply enjoy a Chinese garden by walking through its empty spaces and structures to discover the scenery it presents in full view. The notions of “the empty and the full” (*xu-shi*) and “replenishing the empty” (*buxu*) in Chinese discussions are helpful for challenging this idea.

Xu, empty, is in traditional terms correlative to *shi*, full. In Professor Chen’s discussion of *dongguan* and *jingguan*, the polar relationship of the full and the empty is highlighted:

If a garden has no water, no clouds, no shadows, no sounds, no radiance at dawn, no setting sun at dusk, there is nothing with which one can speak of natural interest (*tianqu*). The empty is what the full relies upon.¹²

Professor Chen refers above to both Chinese painting and garden design. Water and clouds are often shown in paintings as blank areas nevertheless charged with *qi*, while shadows, sounds, and changing light in gardens are considered insubstantial, hence empty. In this traditional understanding of *xu*, the empty might refer to clouds and sounds and such. It is not just an inert blank, the “voids” that contrast with “solids” in modern architectural understanding. This is one reason to be cautious in invoking the notion of empty space in conceiving of movement in Chinese gardens and in reading Professor Chen too literally.

In his study of the aesthetics of Chinese gardens, Jin Xuezhi discusses the notion of *buxu*, “replenishing the empty.”¹³ He explains that the “empty” can be temporal and cites Ming literatus Zhong Xing¹⁴ (13 August 1574–4 August 1624):

‘Generally, in viewing garden dwellings, winter and autumn [scenes] are hard to make fine’ . . . even though one visits at a particular season, one can provide for the *qi* of the four seasons by imagining it.¹⁵

¹¹ Ibid., 32–33.

¹² Chen Congzhou, *Shuo yuan*, Chinese text, 89–90.

¹³ Jin Xuezhi, *Zhongguo yuanlin meixue*, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2000), 412–14.

¹⁴ See the *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 408–9.

¹⁵ Jin Xuezhi, *Zhongguo yuanlin meixue*, 413. Zhong Xing’s text, “Mei hua shu ji” (Record of the Plum Blossom Villa), can be found in Chen Zhi, ed., *Zhongguo gudai mingyuan ji xuanzhu* (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983), 215–19. “Being replete with the *qi* of the four seasons” is also a literary value; see Jin Xuezhi, *Zhongguo yuanlin meixue*, 413.

In the Qing dynasty, the Qianlong emperor echoed this understanding in his poem, “Accumulated Snow on the Southern Mountain”:

This scene is only suited to poetic imagination
For contemplation one has to wait until deep winter.¹⁶

Here the appreciation of gardens is clearly shown to involve an imaginative engagement with what is not physically around. But replenishing the empty is not an entirely imaginative act in a way that is exclusive of visual perception. Indeed, enjoying what is around in a garden is as much a matter of skill and understanding as imagining what is not around.

Great Views and Mere Views

This is brought out in sharp relief in a discussion that explains the difference between mere views and great views in “Guan Shui Zuan ji” (Record of the Pavilion for Viewing the Water) by Shao Bao (1460–1 August 1527). Shao occupied a number of official posts, including that of minister of rites and was an adherent of the Neo-Confucian school of the Cheng Brothers and Zhu Xi.¹⁷ The Pavilion for Viewing the Water was actually his boat, which Shao called a pavilion. Shao reports a conversation he has with a guest at his pavilion who asks:

‘Is what you call viewing a looking at the depth of the water in order to wade through it, a looking at the direction of the current in order to cross it, or a looking at the clarity or muddiness of the water in order to wash yourself in it?’¹⁸

The words “to wash yourself” are an allusion to a passage in *Mencius* (“When the *cang lang* waves are clear, I can wash my hat strings in them; when the *cang lang* waves are muddy, I can wash my feet in them.”)¹⁹ This refers to timely action: taking office in times of righteous government and dipping one’s feet in water while living in reclusion during periods of corrupt administration.²⁰ The guest was mindful of viewing the water as a discerning of the timeliness of action.

But Shao rejects any construal of “viewing the water” involving a homocentric point of view:

‘These are all looking from the vantage point of humans and not a great view, for a great view would contemplate Heaven from the vantage point of Heaven. It

¹⁶ Jin Xuezhi, *Zhongguo yuanlin meixue*, 413.

¹⁷ See *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1:619; and *Mingren zhuanji zhiliao suoyin*, ed. Guoli zhongyang tushuguan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 288. For details on Shao’s activities as an educator, see J. Meskill, *Academies in Ming China: A Historical Essay* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 32–33, 36–38, 73–75.

¹⁸ Shao Bao, *Rong Chun Tang qian ji, Ying yin Wen Yuan Ge Si ku quan shu*, vol. 1256, p. 291. All quotations from this text hereafter can be found on this page.

¹⁹ See D. C. Lau, *Mencius* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 121.

²⁰ See Xu Yinong, “Interplay of Image and Fact: The Pavilion of Surging Waves, Suzhou,” *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 19 nos. 3/4 (1999): 293.

would focus on the flow of the water, the waves of the water, and the swell of the water, and only then would the Way be brought into view. For the flow of the water can be used to show its body; the waves can be used to show its original [force], and the swells can be used to show its patterning. Are these not all great views of the world?’

The guest does not understand why the aspects of water that Shao focuses on are great views, while those he has proposed are not. He concedes that “to wade, cross, and wash oneself are all [the doings of] humans.” But he retorts, “Depth, flow, relative clarity of the water, why would these not be the work of Heaven but [the doings of] humans?” Shao replies:

‘Heaven and humans are common in the Way and differ in their functioning . . . the flow of a body, the waves issuing from a source, the patterning of a swell are not mere views but are all grand views of the world. . . . The Way fills Heaven and Earth, only that it might not be manifest. If it were manifest, would not everything that one sees be flows, waves, and patterns, and would not every situation be a wading, crossing, or an ablution?’

In Shao’s account, a great view is not distinguished as a kind of scenic phenomenon but as a horizon of understanding that sees the flows and patterning of water as all part of the transformations of the Way. We humans are caught up in and carried along by this cosmic flux. The character *xuan*, translated here as “pavilion,” has the radical “carriage”—the pavilion is etymologically a vehicle. Thus both boat and pavilion are “vehicles that carry people along the Way.” Seeing the water in this manner metaphorically brings out the broader understanding that everything that one sees are “flows, waves, and patterns.” Thus, every situation is a kind of wading, crossing, or ablution, and what has been displaced is the horizon of perception dominated by a homocentric concern with the consequence of the water for human activity. The great views of the water are obtained when one has adjusted his horizon of understanding, which is not fixed but changeability itself, and pays a special regard to water.

Engaging with Water

To probe further into the implications of such a shift of horizons of understanding, I turn to a later text, “Shuang Lai Ting ji” (Record of the Pavilion of Vigorous Sounds).²¹ Its author Yuan Zhongdao (1570–1623) was a famous literary figure and director of the Bureau of Appointments in the Southern Ministry of Personnel. Among his works is a text on Chan Buddhism. In his essay, Yuan describes his encounter with a spring that turns into a waterfall. At the base of this waterfall are rocks where he would often sit. Whereas the

²¹ Yuan Zhongdao, “Shuang Lai Ting ji,” in idem, *Ke Xue Zhai ji*, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 2: 654–56. On Yuan Zhongdao, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 2: 1638, and *Mingren zhuanji zhiliao suoyin*, 423.

Pavilion for Viewing the Water had emphasized looking at flow and patterning of water, here Yuan's experience of the flowing waters of Jade Spring is primarily aural. He recounts the experience as a meditative process leading from inner disarray to inner stillness.

When I first went there, my *qi* was fickle and my mind (*yi*) was full of clamor. My ears and the spring could not penetrate each other deeply. The wind among branches of trees and the birds of the valley could still disturb me. Then I closed my eyes and practiced breathing, retracting my gaze, turning back my hearing, refusing the ten thousand affinities, and losing myself and sense of others, and then the transformative dispositions of the waterfall emerged in a hundred ways.²²

Here the term *qi* denotes the dynamic or inherent and unceasing vitality in a processual world. It can be likened to Spinoza's *conatus*, that which "makes an entity a particular entity and becomes its vitality."²³ Meditative practice focusing on *qi* is related to Daoism and later Confucian traditions where the quality of *qi* links the quality of human life and the life of the world. As Peter Herschok puts it, "The harmony of all things is not provided for by substance, form, a divine being, or even the laws of 'nature,' but by changeability."²⁴ In contrast with Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception, the engagement of the author with the waterfall does not yield a multisensory awareness of the body-subject; to the contrary, it proceeds from a closing-off of sight, hearing, sense of self and others. It proceeds from a breathing practice. Yuan's meditative breathing is a tuning that at first attends to the "transformations" of the waterfall.

At first it sounded like mournful pines and fracturing jade; then it sounded like a string plucked with a metal plectrum; then it sounded like sudden thunder and terrifying trembles that rock the rivers and mountains. Thus, as my spirit became more still/quiet, the waterfall became louder. The loudness of the waterfall entered my ear and infused my heart, making it reverent and dispassionate, cleansing my lungs and bowels and washing away all dust and grime, rinsing away my memory of personal circumstance and uniting life and death. Thus the louder the waterfall, the more quiet/still my spirit became.²⁵

The progressively louder sounds he describes correspond to different levels of meditative practice. Wu Kuang-ming writes that the ways in which humans enter reciprocity are construed in terms of the flow of *qi*. The expansive flow of *qi* is

shen, usually translated as 'spirit'. . . the spreading dynamism of the spirit and *qi* are both a thing and an act. On the one hand, neither *shen* nor *qi* can be pinned down as a thing, an It. They are pure movement, going-through and change things. . . . On

²² Yuan Zhongdao, "Shuang Lai Ting ji," 655.

²³ Wu Kuang-ming, *On Chinese Body Thinking: A Cultural Hermeneutic* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1997), 156. Wherever appropriate, I have made consistent the transliteration of terms by converting those in Wade-Giles to pinyin.

²⁴ Herschok, *Liberating Intimacy*, 150–51.

²⁵ Yuan Zhongdao, "Shuang Lai Ting ji," 655.

the other hand, *shen* and *qi* are things, for they can be named and confronted as they are, recognized as different from, say, a stone.²⁶

Human life and the life of the world are a function of the balances and interfusions of *qi*, and so the in-flowing of the spring that Yuan describes is to be understood as opening himself to the free circulation of the energies of the spring. But the efficacy of this interfusion is mutual, and so Yuan writes:

As for what the spring obtained from me: I cleared up the obstructions along its course, removed the wild grasses along its banks, and dredged the sands and mud at its bottom. I prohibited people from washing their feet in it and also cattle and horses from trampling into it.²⁷

The benefits that Yuan himself obtained in the encounter are thus summarized:

I used to be afflicted with burning anxieties. Roots would grow in front of me and creepers behind me. My teachers and friends could not exhort me, and talismans could not cleanse me. Yet as I encountered this cold, cold spring, the limitless brambles [inside me vanished] like thin melting ice under the sun in Spring or the sheaths covering the joints of the bamboo being pulled off by autumnal winds. In this regard, the merits of the spring are certainly not insignificant.²⁸

Both person and spring achieve an improved flow by removing impediments as they engaged with one another. Yet engagement cannot be satisfied by a fleeting encounter or even a moment of aesthetic bliss. Yuan explains that he wanted to be with this spring constantly, but the searing sun and heavy rain prompted him to stay away on occasion and he would feel at a loss. He then decided to construct a pavilion:

I made a plan with the mountain monks to bind together water-mallows (*mao*) and make a pavilion on the spring. I placed windows on all four sides of the pavilion so that one could sit or lie down in it. When the pavilion was completed, I sighed and said, 'The harsh sun will not be able to drive me away, and the fierce rain will not be able to expel me. I would come here in the company with the bright moon and then would not leave even for sleeping and dreaming. Now I have really obtained this spring!'²⁹

Thus design intervention is undertaken after the experience of the spring. It is not an a priori plan that ushers into existence a new experience or functionality. Design is understood as an improvisation responding to an ongoing concourse of person and spring. The harmony (*he*) of person and spring can be elucidated in terms of the definition of *he* as *xiang ying*, mutual responsiveness, in the *Shuo wen*, the earliest dictionary of classical Chi-

²⁶ Wu, *On Chinese Body Thinking*, 155.

²⁷ Yuan Zhongdao, "Shuang Lai Ting ji," 655.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

nese.³⁰ The ongoing, negotiative nature of the responsiveness stands in clear contrast to European understandings of harmony in terms of fixed ratios. This mutual responsiveness is repeatedly underlined in Yuan's account of the spring. The ideal of universal agreement in Indo-European philosophy sometimes leads to a negative sense of discord. In the light of harmony as ongoing care, discord is simply an occasion to be responsive. The construction of Yuan's pavilion in response to the rain and sun can be taken as an improvised responsive measure in an ongoing process of the evaluation of person and spring.

Movement and Stillness

Now we are better prepared to assess the traditional frame of reference that Professor Chen assumed his readers would share with him when he described the motion of clouds and birds in a landscape observed from a pavilion, and the stillness of rocks and trees when walking or passing in a boat among them. Far from providing a simple discussion of relative displacement, he was pointing to another level of mutuality between motion and stillness.

Let us turn back again to two of the Ming texts. Shao's discussion of water involves two orders of movement: (1) At the level of the name of the boat-pavilion, there is an equivocation of movement and stillness. Calling a boat a pavilion crosses the line of common sense that divides the mobile boat from the immobile pavilion. The result is a double disruption: the boat-called-pavilion seems to acquire extra steadiness, while the pavilion acquires more wobbliness. (2) The movements of the boat-pavilion are relative to the movements of the water that carries it. It is possible to think about the relative movement of water and of the boat-pavilion in terms of empirical frames of reference (provided by a shoreline, for instance), but we should not lose sight of the interpenetration of movement and stillness suggested by the boat-as-pavilion. If the boat-pavilion were to be construed purely as a moving object against a shoreline, the whole point of naming the boat a pavilion would be occluded.

This double interpenetration of movement and stillness obviates a naïve sense of spatiality that might be entailed by an empiricist referentiality. Both boat and pavilion are functioning as vehicles relative to humans; what is highlighted is not their entification as "objects of use" for human transportation, but their ongoing efficacy relative to humans for "viewing the water." Naming the boat a pavilion was inviting a construal that the built structures are vehicles carrying humans along the flux of the world. Shao writes that it was after he had "successfully begged to be discharged from office" that he began touring in his boat. Thus the arena of advancement and setbacks in Shao's official career gave way to the stillness of retirement, but this turns out to be a home-living with a double movement of "viewing the water." We see below that this may be related to both an understanding of stillness penetrated by movement and also a critique of the unscrupulous pursuit of the upward movement of official advancement. Participating in the great flows of the transfor-

³⁰ Herschok, *Liberating Intimacy*, 79. See also David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking from the Han* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 180 ff.

mations of the world is contrasted with the scheming, overweening, self-important climbers in officialdom.

Yuan's account is filled with a whole series of movements and stillnesses: he came to the spring; his *qi* was initially fickle, the movement of winds and the sounds of birds disturbed him; as he listened to the spring, his spirit was stilled, the loudness of the spring entered his ears and infused his heart, and he felt cleansed. The loudness of the spring is correlated with his inner quietness/stillness. Meanwhile, there have been moves around the spring. He had been busy around the spring, trying to improve the flow of the spring. The construction of the pavilion allowed a place of repose in front of the roaring waterfall and warded off the driving rain and the searing sun. It is clear that movement and stillness are intermixed in Yuan's account of vigorous sounds. He does not simply delight in the roaring motion and sounds of the waterfall. Thus stillness is achieved by engaging with the motion of the Way; motions along the water in the boat/pavilion, or the move from a fickle to a rested heart, contribute to stillness.

Scholarship as Movement

A social dimension emerges in Yuan's discussion. It is clear that he was collaborating with the mountain (Buddhist) monks because he declares that not everyone is capable of listening to the sound of the spring:

[K]ings, dukes, and great men of the world are not able to listen to it and also lack the leisure in which to listen to it. It is only reserved for lofty persons and untrammelled scholars to use for cultivating their spirit (*xing ling*).

Certain people have to be kept from washing their feet; the animals that might trample on the spring are also disciplined.

A comparable social dimension is found in "Jian Shan Tang ji" (Record of the Hall for Viewing the Mountains) by Fang Xiaoru (1357–25 July 1402), a statesman and Neo-Confucian scholar who was the most distinguished disciple of Song Lian (4 November 1310–12 June 1381).³¹ Fang Xiaoru writes about a man named Liang who built the Hall for Viewing the Mountains on an especially fine mountain among the many of the Dongting area. The bulk of the essay is in the words of Liang and deals with the hall, whose setting is described as follows:

Liang said, 'Examining the area to its west for 400 or so wu [*wu* is a half-step], one finds small mountains that are tall without being overbearing, crowded together without marshes/moors. Looking to the left and to the right, I delighted in it.'³²

³¹ Fang Xiaoru, "Jian Shan Tang ji," in idem, *Xun Zhi Zhai ji*, Sibü congkan ed., 17.47b–49a. On Fang Xiaoru, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 1: 426–33; *Mingren zhuanji zhiliao suoyin*, 12; *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. and comp. W. H. Nienhauser Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 1: 375–76.

³² Fang Xiaoru, "Jian Shan Tang ji," 17.47b.

Liang first cleaned up the site by chopping down brambles and removing refuse; then he made a perimeter wall around the area and some steps by leveling some treads; afterward, he planted a vegetable garden at a fertile spot, adding a path where there was a thoroughfare, and cut down timber and chiseled stone to make the hall. Liang said:

When the Hall was completed, I looked around at the mountains. They loom forward to offer shelter in the front, and screen off the back. Clouds seem illusory and the mist deceptive. Forests are exceedingly deep and rocks especially refined. The cries of birds and fowls, monkeys and squirrels, the transformations of cold and hot weather, dusk and dawn are received by one's ears and eyes and move one's heart and intent. There is much that can benefit humans. I thereupon named this hall "Viewing the Mountains." I asked various masters to discourse on scholarship in it and to record it for me.³³

The four elements of this setting are (1) a parity of vantage point offered by the hall with the assembled mountains in front (tall without being overbearing); (2) the distance that allows "the splendor of the assembled mountains to be taken all in a view"; (3) the acoustic presence of animal life; and (4) the movement of life in cyclical repetitive rhythm (clouds and mist, transformation of weather, and dawn and the dawn as night-turning-into-day and dusk as day-turning-into-night). Strikingly the mountains are not described much at all. Liang comments on neither the form of the mountains nor their relationship to each other. Viewing the mountain is listening to the monkeys and pursuing a timely understanding of landscape; it is neither a gaze nor a glance.

Liang then contrasts those who can see the mountains and those who cannot. The crux of the problem is desire and egocentric indulgence, and here a social dimension emerges just as he attacks rock-climbing tree huggers.

Everyone with eyes can see the mountains of the world. Yet many are hoodwinked by their desires. Those who are fortunate in not having other desires and see the mountains are plagued by seeking them too obsessively and taking them in too extensively, so that they cannot attain anything. Now woodcutters are blinded by firewood, city dwellers, butchers, and merchants see mountains every day and are as though they did not see them—they are blinded by commodities and profits. Scholar-officials are anxiously absorbed in rank and emoluments; the talented are anxiously absorbed in name and reputation, everyone scheming and enslaving their purpose to what they desire. They all have something that blinkers them and deprives them of the rectitude of their ears and eyes. They see as if they do not. Only refined persons and quiet scholar-officials leave behind external things and are not addicted to them, and so they alone can see [the mountains]. Yet many of them are excessively devoted to scenery that is rare and unusual, or refined and beyond compare. They do not reach the greatness [of the mountains]. As for those who climb trees and clamber up cliffs, exhaustively exploring the dangerous and strange,

³³ Ibid., 1748a.

wearing out their shoes and clogs and tiring their bodies, and still do not feel tired of it—what they are able to get out of it is surely meager.³⁴

The greedy, grab-everything attitude of those who cannot see is contrasted with that of the skilled. What distinguishes the wise from their greedy fellows is a focused disposition that informs selectivity:

They take hold of what is crucial in order to view their mysterious wonder. They obtain one [aspect of a] thing and encompass a hundred more. Everything that they receive with their eyes they would meet in their hearts. What one's heart meets is always sufficient for one's use and one is not enslaved by it. . . . Thus the exemplary person (*junzi*) delights in it. Something like the Hall for Viewing the Mountain approximates this.³⁵

Liang moves to an analogy between viewing the mountains and the conduct of scholars. Just as there are those woodcutters, traders, and others who are blinkered and just as those nature-connoisseurs and rock-climbing tree-huggers who want to “see everything” and get little out of their runaround, Liang points out that some who try to learn from the words of the saints and sages face similar predicaments.

They do not see the authenticity of the Way because there is something that blinkers them. If there is nothing that blinkers them, they may be dazzled by the richness of rhetoric. They hanker after the excellent and encyclopedic, seeking remote splendors and failing to grasp their crux. Thus in the end they have nothing to rely upon for getting somewhere. Only those who understand what is important can seize the great middle in order to order the myriad patterns (*li*), abide in stillness in order to regulate the ten thousand transformations, understand things comprehensively and not wear out their talents, and have abundant functionality without limit. This is what is called being skillful in scholarship. Therefore, how could this Hall be merely used for the sole purpose of viewing and touring?³⁶

In effect, viewing the mountains and being devoted to scholarly learning exercise the same skill of grasping the crucial in a situation. In learning the Way, abiding in stillness is the crux of regulating the ten thousand transformations. Looking out from the Hall for Viewing the Mountains, one sees the mist and clouds, and hears the cries of monkeys and birds, and follows the dawn and the dusk. These are the transformations of the Way for those who can grasp the crux of the scene. Interestingly, stillness is said to be the crux of regulating the ten thousand transformations. The resonance of inner stillness with the enjoyment of the landscape outside parallels the concourse of person and waterfall.

³⁴ Ibid., 17.48a, b.

³⁵ Ibid., 17.48b.

³⁶ Ibid., 17.48b–49a.

Thus the skill of “grasping what is crucial” is what effectively distinguishes those who can see from those who see but it is as if they do not. Thus I suggest that the social groups that Fang Xiaoru and others deride need not be understood as essentialist categories. They are concrete universals generalized from contingent circumstance and inherent tendency. Yuan Zhongdao is explicit about his fickle *qi* and poor relationship with the waterfall and, from this, it can be surmised that “person [is] process [so that] those who cannot see [are really] those who cannot see right now” and the trajectory of their becoming is contextually contingent.

Remoteness and Depth

In the discussion above, it has emerged that a certain distance is involved in taking the splendors of the mountains all in one view, even though the focus does not appear to be on the fine forms of mountains but on the cries of animals and such. The name “Viewing the Mountains” is a recurring name in Chinese garden history. It refers to a famous couplet of Tao Yuanming (365–427):

Plucking a chrysanthemum under the eastern fence,
Distantly I see the Southern Mountains.³⁷

The previous line above this one reads, “When the heart is remote, the site becomes like it.”

“Xin Yuan Xuan ji” (Record of the Storied Pavilion of the Remote Heart) by Zheng Zhen,³⁸ a provincial graduate (*ju ren*) of 1372 who held the post of instructor of Guangxin, links both the theme of the remoteness of heart and viewing a landscape from a distance.

The residence of Yu Mingben of Wu fronts onto Huaicheng. There he constructed a storied pavilion called “Remote Heart.” His friend from his hometown, Chen Zhongliang, told me, ‘Mingben and I have lived here for a long time because we love the beauty of its customs and cannot bear to leave. This storied pavilion overlooks the city from within the walls and gates [of the residence]. Ten thousand houses in rows like fish-scale are clustered together. Long streets and wide lanes crisscross the city. Carriages fill them, and horses gather on them. Garments, caps, rituals, and music, everything that is used for pleasing one’s eyes and dazzling one’s eyes are intermixed there. Looking from a distance at Mount Huai and the Hao River, the mountain ranges are continuous [with each other] and the shorelines are connected [with each other]. The splendor of kingly precincts and hot springs, palaces and gardens, the radiance of auspiciousness and fine atmosphere are lively and somber. Looking within a small area, there is a luxuriant air testifying to the

³⁷ A. R. Davis, *T’ao Yüan-ming (A.D. 365–427): His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1:96.

³⁸ On Zheng Zhen, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 436; *Mingren zhuanji zhiliao suoyin*, 787.

appropriateness of the transformational and educational [forces of Heaven and Earth].³⁹

So Yu Mingben and his friend Chen have stayed because they are attracted to local customs, that is, the repetitive and harmonious development of social life. Teeming life in a cityscape is set in a larger order of landscape, and the splendid scene is immediately attributed to the appropriate actions of those who guide the transformation and education of the life of this city. The motion of city life is viewed from a distance, but Yu and his friend participate in social exchanges according to the customs. The pattern of Yu's life is an oscillation between the remoteness of the storied pavilion and the daily engagements.

Yu Mingben's friend Chen has asked Zheng Zhen to compose a piece about the storied pavilion, and Zheng questions him,

'Mingben lives in this storied pavilion, neither leaving his desk nor passing beyond the threshold of his gate in order to make a remote heart: where would he like his heart to be?'⁴⁰

Zheng then makes a discourse on "remote heart" and quickly links it to the idea of something beyond words. The heart, he says,

is something spiritual, numinous, and unfathomable. Its body is replete and its functioning comprehensive. Coming upon the smallness of a single event or a single thing, it can comprehend the gathering of ten thousand patterns; imaging the space of an instant or a breath, it reaches well into the eight directions. It does not limit itself to the lowly and the proximate, nor does it vacillate anxiously between the shallow and the shabby. There is an order to this, and the body is thereby calm and composed. How could brushes and tongues convey it in words?⁴¹

Thus the heart is not the locus of emotions, as it is understood in Western cultures, but rather the locus of mutual understanding through which human beings may engage Heaven and Earth. Zheng gives Tao Yuanming as an example of the remote heart:

I think of the ancients such as the Recluse of Chaisang [i.e., Tao], who understands this precisely, and so his poem says, 'Setting up a thatched hut in the realm of people/as one's heart is remote the site becomes like it.' Was he someone who was swayed by external things? I imagine him 'plucking the chrysanthemum at the eastern fence' and distantly seeing the Southern Mountains, delighting in the return of the birds and thinking there was a true meaning therein. Yet desiring to argue for it, he had already forgotten the words. Thus the subtle wonder of the ten thousand transformations is already inside him as a silent communion. The air and

³⁹ Zheng Zhen, "Xin Yuan Xuan ji," in idem, *Yongyang wai shi ji, Ying yin Wen Yuan Ge Si ku quan shu*, vol. 1234, 63.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

manifestation of this heart is not something that other people can know. Only Chaisang would know it.⁴²

So Tao Yuanming writes that he has no words with which to tell us, but he does offer a clustering of written images: chrysanthemum picking, viewing the mountains, birds flying. Wu Kuang-ming argues that this cluster indicates “an absorption in the here-now so much so that one forgets oneself right there, in the very point in which one lives—beyond any specificity.”⁴³

Curiously, Zheng never answers directly as to where Yu would like his heart to be. It turns out to be a rhetorical question and the answer seems to be locationally nonspecific. If one is already in silent communion with “the subtle wonder of the ten thousand transformations,” the remoteness of one’s heart would not be a matter of quantitative distance from clamorous cities. Thus even though the storied pavilion does offer a view of the city from a distance, the writer is turning our thoughts toward a different understanding of distance. Remoteness is not a matter of empirical distance but is to be understood configuratively with the other stories of Tao Yuanming’s poem. Tao’s poem is answering a question about why he cannot hear the clamor of city life while in its midst; his explanation is to describe a situation, a concrete concentrate of details about space (southern mountains, eastern fence) and about time (birds flying home, sun in the west, i.e., dusk).

“Xin jing ji” (Record of Heart and Scene) by Fang Hui (1227–1307), though from an earlier period, helps explain what Zheng might be implicitly asking Yu Mingben to understand.⁴⁴ Fang writes that people seek after remote sites but see only the “scene” and not the “heart.”

Only Tao Yuanming is not like that. . . . I once wrote an appreciation of his poem: ‘under the eastern fence, before the southern mountain, chrysanthemums waving . . . true meaning hovers distantly. I appreciate the mountain air close to the time of the sunset; joining the flying birds, I return.’ People are not different from me . . . the heart is the scene, those who administer the scene and not their hearts, even though the scene is remote, their hearts are always nearby; those who administer their hearts and not their scenes, then even though the realm of people and tracks is nearby, their hearts are always remote.⁴⁵

Yu Mingben is admonished, ever so obliquely, not to merely enjoy the view and the customs but to realize the imperative of administering his heart. Distance is both inside and outside the person. But the admonition is itself an indication that not everyone who calls a pavilion “remote” appreciates what is at stake in the choices involved: seeing a mere view or

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Wu, *On Chinese Body Thinking*, 322.

⁴⁴ Fang Hui, “Xin jing ji,” in idem, *Tong jiang ji si juan, fu bu yi yi juan*, Yuandai zhenben wenji huikan (Taipei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), 86–89.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 87–88.

a great view. Indeed, in another essay, a writer reports a discussion about stillness in which a man by the name of Wang had said that he appreciated the discussion but could not achieve stillness. Five years after he died, his son asked for an essay to commemorate him.⁴⁶

The sense of remoteness is also valued in painting, poetry, and landscape appreciation, and we can find here a suggestive point about winding paths in Chinese gardens. Yun Ge (1633–1690) writes in “Ou Xiang Guan hua ba” (Colophons to Painting from the Ou Xiang Guan):

Sense that is remote is valued; but it is not remote unless it is still; scenery that is deep is valued; it is not deep unless it is winding.⁴⁷

Here remoteness is correlated with stillness, but depth is correlated with winding movement. This is echoed by Li Yu (ca. 1610–1680), who wrote: “One would intentionally make a detour in order to obtain a different interest”; as well as by Ming writer Cheng Yuwen, who proclaimed: “Inside the door there is a path, and the path should be winding.”⁴⁸ A couplet now in the Beihai Park in Beijing connects the winding path to the remote heart:

The scene winds in accord with the path, poetic sentiments become remote /
Mountain with sparse trees, opens up a picture.⁴⁹

The implication here is that encountering and moving in a winding scene, penetrating a depth bodily or in imagination, evokes an inward movement as one’s poetic sentiments become remote. Inward and outward movement are correlated.

Conclusions

This discussion of the experience of motion in Ming writings on gardens developed in response to what amounts to a mismatch of vocabulary. The terms of discussion that Professor Chen has offered modern readers do not correspond directly to those in Ming sources. Searching through Ming writings did not prove to be an effective way of gathering sources that thematized the concept of motion. Therefore, I responded by focusing on a series of texts on buildings that offered vantage points for landscape experiences. By reading these sources closely and obliquely, attending both to their surface and to what seems to have been implied, I have shown how these texts are relevant to the understanding of an experience of motion, in which movement and stillness are interwoven in nuanced ways.

These Ming essays have three key rhetorical features. They are compact stories rife with the implications of the said and the unsaid. A significant use of irony sends the reader’s mind first one way and then another; something is both A and not A: A pavilion turns out to be a boat-called-pavilion; viewing the mountain is looking at clouds and listening to

⁴⁶ Luo Lun (22 Feb. 1431–19 Oct. 1478), “Le Jing Tang ji,” in idem, *Yifeng xiansheng wenji*, Ming printed edition (Library of Congress Rare Books of the National Library of Peiping, no. 2122), 6.7a–8b.

⁴⁷ Jin Xuezhi, *Zhongguo yuanlin meixue*, 385.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 308.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

monkeys. Finally, storytelling is the main mode of discourse. The texts do not define concepts but develop notions by offering micro-narratives. Their gist emerges as one follows the story, and if the story were removed, the meaning of the discourse would evaporate.

Especially striking is the manner in which the initially abstract theme of motion and the experience of landscape design can be explained by insertion into a series of multifarious texts about the distinction between great views and mere views, grasping what is crucial in situations as the common skill exercised in mountain viewing and in scholarship, the remote heart, and so on. Starting with viewing-in-motion, the discussion takes the form of a ramification of themes. The discussion brings these themes into a neighborhood, yet these disparate themes cannot be subsumed into a single category as themes of motion. They retain their singularity.⁵⁰ A sense of the different ways in which movement and stillness are interwoven in Ming writings emerges through the ramification of themes, which is reflected in the section subheadings I have used here.

Finally, I present a final image taken from “Yu Shan zhu” (Footnotes to Allegory Mountain) by Qi Biao (1602–1645) and invite readers to imagine the richness of movement as autumn turns into winter:

A winding gallery leads from the Thatched Pavilion to Pitcher Hideaway. Looking down through the gaps between the floorboards, one finds oneself standing above flowing water. Fantastic rocks jut upwards, and alongside the paths between these rocks giant Yundang and delicate Chill Jade bamboos sigh in the autumnal breeze. A small pond of clear green water reflects the images of those passing by this way, making them appear like kingfishers playing upon the branches. My garden is long on open vistas but short of secluded spots. A place like this where one can whistle and sing is a place one can while the day away. Halfway along the gallery, a narrow path leads away towards the east and here a terrace is followed by a bridge, and the bridge in turn by an island. Red blossoms float upon the ripples and the deep green water cuts a transverse passage. But all this is not what most appeals to the mind of the Master of the garden, for when the autumnal river brings a sense of loneliness upon him, only the few Cold Fragrance hibiscus flowers found here will become, along with the distant peaks and the deep cold pond, his boon companions. It is for this reason that the ford has been named Hibiscus.⁵¹

Several kinds of movement are described above: the relative movement of the visitor against the flowing water seen through boarding underfoot, the fantastic rocks jutting upward and the bamboos in the breeze. This kind of movement is obvious. But then a sudden change of vantage point occurs: We are invited to imagine the first series of movements from what seems to be the jutting rocks, where moving people are reflected in the water. From this

⁵⁰ See John Rajchman, *The Deleuze Connections* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000), 53–55.

⁵¹ Duncan Campbell, “Qi Biao’s ‘Footnotes to Allegory Mountain’: Introduction and Translation,” *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 19, nos. 3/4(1999): 253–54.

position, people appear like kingfishers playing upon the branches; considered from this vantage point, human movements are just like other natural movements.

Then the order of consideration shifts to a set-up: gallery, path, terrace, bridge, island, with red blossoms floating on the water and the water itself cutting a transverse passage. Potential order of movement is contrasted with the actual flow of blossoms and water. Although impressive, it is dismissed as not being what is most appealing. Here we arrive at the level of consideration of seasonal flux: autumn turns to freezing winter. The autumnal river ushers in a sense of loneliness; the stillness of the distant peaks displaces the floating red blossoms, while the flow of water is replaced by the image of a deep cold pond. Thus the outward turn toward distant peaks, and the deep cold pond echoes an inward turn toward solitude on the part of the master of the garden.

Certainly Professor Chen's remark about "movement as the first and foremost consideration" in *Allegory Mountain* is correct. However, Qi Biaoqia warns explicitly that neither the narrow path that leads away toward the east, nor the bridge that leads from the terrace to the island, nor the motion of the red blossoms floating upon the ripples are "what appeals most to the mind of the Master of the Garden." It is rather the viewing-in-stillness of the distant peaks and the cold fragrance hibiscus whose life he shares. It is a case of "replenishing the empty." For most of the year at this site, the hibiscus cannot be seen. It appears as the season changes from autumnal splendor (an ironic twist on the idea of emptiness) to bleak winter when almost all the delightful flowers have disappeared and stillness takes over.

Thus we may achieve a better understanding of Professor Chen who writes that "as stillness and motion interweave, they naturally create fine interest." It is possible to understand how different this interest is from the delight taken in discovering sights that can be photographed and appreciated visually by tourists who, blinkered by their aesthetic desires, have not been prevented from engaging in the modern practice of garden appreciation.

Movement, Intersubjectivity, and Mercantile Morality at Stourhead

Michael Charlesworth

This essay discusses the experience of moving through the garden at Stourhead, near Frome in the county of Wiltshire in southwest England, and by focusing on movement clarifies the importance in the garden of imagery and iconography relating to the Choice or Judgment of Hercules. By introducing new evidence and by focusing more intently on the question of visitors' movement, I complement rather than supplant my previous explanation of this iconography.¹ In addition to the new evidence, I also introduce a methodology that applies structural linguistics to its discussion of the inscriptions in the garden. Such an application is potentially transferable to other gardens. The inspiration for this avenue of investigation lay in remarks made by Stephen Bann at the Octagon, Washington, D.C., in 1992, and subsequently published in the *Journal of Garden History*.² Bann pointed out the usefulness for the interpretation of inscriptions of a linguistic distinction made by Emile Benveniste, but in this discussion I rely on a different element of Benveniste's work to help in the elucidation of the visitor's subjectivity at Stourhead. This essay can only amount, however, to a very specific and brief example of the potential usefulness of the application of Benveniste's concepts to garden history.

Statues of Hercules are rather frequently encountered in early modern gardens. The grandest example must be at Vaux-le-Vicomte, in France, dating from 1656 to 1661, where a giant statue of the deity resting after his labors faces the house. This Hercules, on a distant slope down the main avenue, dominates the gardens, doubtless sometimes provoking thoughts in visitors about the Herculean task of making Nicolas Fouquet's grand domain (house as well as gardens). Six statues of Hercules were installed in Louis XIV's garden at Versailles,

In addition to the sources mentioned above and in notes 1 and 2, I must also acknowledge the contribution of a symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in 1999: "Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art," an echo of which is discernible here. Any participant at that symposium will detect the present essay's considerable continuity with the aims and methods of several of its conference papers. It was only by considering the questions that Stourhead raises on class distinctions discussed so thoroughly in that conference that the full implications of the garden at Stourhead emerged and could be addressed in this essay.

¹ See my "On Meeting Hercules in Stourhead Garden," *Journal of Garden History* 9, no. 2 (1989): 71–75.

² See Bann, "A Luton Arcadia: Ian Hamilton Finlay's Contribution to the English Neo-Classical Tradition," *Journal of Garden History* 13, nos. 1/2 (1993): 104–12.

mainly in the 1680s, and Hercules also decorates the War and Peace Vases on the terrace (1684–1685)—features that “project the triumphant iconography of Le Brun’s Hall of Mirrors into the garden.”³ The Hercules Fountain was a prominent feature of the garden at Het Loo in the Netherlands, made between 1686 and 1695 for the enemy of the king of France, the prince of Orange.⁴ Sited across the garden from a fountain of Narcissus, it no doubt emblemized the necessity for an active, energetic life in contrast to the dangers of too much contemplation. After the Protestant prince drove the Roman Catholic King James II out of England in 1688 and became William III, he brought the iconography of Hercules into the architectural ornamentation of Hampton Court Palace.⁵ War with France occupied the years 1689 to 1697 and 1702 to 1713.

In addition to these august examples, gardens from a slightly different level of society featured statues of Hercules. In England, these included the Hercules and Antaeus group at Studley Royal, near Ripon in Yorkshire. The garden was made for commoner John Aislabie, a politician and landowner, who was chancellor of the Exchequer at the time of a famous financial scandal, the South Sea Bubble, in 1721.⁶ At Goldney, near Bristol, Hercules ferociously swings his club on the terrace, flanked by crenellated towers in the garden of the mercantile and bourgeois Goldney family. This garden took shape in the middle third of the eighteenth century.⁷ Stourhead, in Wiltshire, where Henry Hoare II commissioned a large statue of Hercules from Michael Rysbrack in 1747, belongs socially to this second, bourgeois group in that its owner was a banker first and a landowner second. Examination of the use of Hercules at Stourhead allows us to explore how the garden functions as a whole, while also showing the garden contributing to a contemporary debate that is still urgent in our time. Neither of these explorations is possible, however, except by considering carefully how the iconography of Hercules is encountered by visitors to the garden.

The garden was made by Stourhead’s owner, Henry Hoare II (1705–1785), between the early 1740s and his death, in the middle of a landed estate that his father had bought in 1717.⁸ Hoare was the owner of Hoare’s Bank, a very successful business in London, and was

³ Patrick Eyres, “Rambo in the Landscape Garden: The British Hercules as Champion of the Protestant Succession,” *New Arcadian Journal* 37/38, *Sons of the Sea* (1994): 20.

⁴ For Het Loo, see *Journal of Garden History* 8, nos. 2/3 (1988): “The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary,” ed. John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong (1988): 144–59.

⁵ See Eyres, “Rambo,” 18–28.

⁶ For Studley Royal, see essays by Edward Lucie-Smith, Patrick Eyres, W.T. C. Walker, and Jim Hingston in *Mr. Aislabie’s Gardens* (Leeds: New Arcadians, 1981).

⁷ Discussed by David Lambert, “The Landscape Gardens at Goldney and Warmley: Hercules and Neptune and the Merchant-Gardeners of Bristol,” *New Arcadian Journal* 37/38, *Sons of the Sea* (1994): 45–64.

⁸ Stourhead and its garden have been discussed by various authors; the most useful resources are Kenneth Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 28–31; James Turner, “The Structure of Henry Hoare’s Stourhead,” *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 68–77; Malcolm Kelsall, “The Iconography of Stourhead,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 133–43; and my “On Meeting Hercules in Stourhead.” A selection of 18th- and early 19th-century texts that describe Stourhead can be found in my *English Garden: Literary Sources and Documents* (Robertsbridge: Helm Information, 1993), chaps. 70, 101, 107.

therefore dependent for his wealth upon both mercantile capitalism and the needs of the landed gentry to borrow money. The elder Hoare had commissioned the house from the Palladian revival architect Colen Campbell in the early 1720s, but it was the son who formed the garden.

The visit of a late eighteenth-century tourist to Stourhead might well have begun, like ours, with the house and its art collection.⁹ Amidst a large collection of paintings, *The Choice of Hercules*, by the celebrated seventeenth-century French painter Nicolas Poussin, might have earned an extended look (Fig. 1). Hoare bought it in 1747, the same year in which he commissioned Rysbrack's statue of Hercules.¹⁰ In it we see the young Hercules, having just set out on life's path, detained at a fork in the way by two female figures. One of them, representing Vice, Pleasure, or Indolence (I return to a clarification of the possible identities below), is a buxom, blandishing woman attended by a child who holds a handful of flowers. The other, more severe young woman on the left, Virtue, gestures energetically up a steep and rocky hillside that we imagine would be difficult to climb. Although we cannot see the path of Vice, it must be, by implied contrast, easy, level, perhaps flower-strewn, and smooth. The painting shows the moment in the life of the young hero when, happily for the human race, he made the crucial choice of a virtuous path. The reference was not particularly obscure in educated circles of eighteenth-century England: as Earl Wasserman and Ronald Paulson pointed out, the classical texts that Poussin's painting is ultimately derived from were well known to the educated classes because, being thought suitable for inculcating morality, they were frequently used in schools.¹¹

In many contemporary adaptations and reinterpretations by writers, artists, and musicians of this moment in the myth of Hercules, the morality was often updated to match that of a mercantile Protestant nation: Vice was often redefined as mere idleness or laziness and virtue as industriousness.¹² On a more rarefied level, the myth had been seized upon in 1713 by Antony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury, in an essay that expounds a theory of history painting.¹³ Lord Shaftesbury had explained the hero's choice as that between

⁹ Arthur Young's accounts of visits to country seats customarily begin with descriptions of the house and contents before proceeding to descriptions of the gardens. See, e.g., his *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, 2d ed. (1771). While this order might not reflect his experience in actual visits (although it may), it perhaps reflects his conception of the order of an ideal visit.

¹⁰ *Stourhead: List of Pictures* (Stourhead: National Trust, 1987), 13.

¹¹ Wasserman, "The Inherent Values of Eighteenth-Century Personification," *PMLA* 65 (1950): 435–63, specifies many imitative poems, translations, paraphrases, and school texts derived from the *Choice*, esp. 437–40; Paulson, *Emblem and Expression*, identifies 4 painters who quoted the theme in their work (Hogarth, Reynolds, Stubbs, Angelica Kaufman) and refers to musical settings of the story (237, note 22) and to Samuel Johnson, who intended to include the *Choice* in the curriculum for his proposed school at Lichfield (234, note 44). Art historian Erwin Panofsky also contributed an essay to the secondary literature on the topic: *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1930).

¹² A point emphasized by Paulson. The classic example in which this happens is William Hogarth's 1747 print series *Industry and Idleness*.

¹³ My source is an abridged form of Shaftesbury's essay, "A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgement of Hercules," in Elizabeth G. Holt, ed., *A Documentary History of Art* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1958), 242–59.



1. Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), *The Choice of Hercules*, oil on canvas, 91 x 72 cm, Stourhead, Wiltshire. Hercules faces white-clad Virtue as Vice approaches him from the right. The painting is considered the most important remaining at Stourhead (photo: National Trust Photographic Library).

Virtue, on the one hand, and Pleasure (rather than Vice) on the other. This would have to be accounted the ultra-Protestant version of the myth, in which the path to Virtue depends on the rejection of pleasure itself! Shaftesbury also specifies the appropriate landscape, alluding to the “rough rocky way,” the “mountainous rocky way pointed out by Virtue and the flowery way of the vale and meadows recommended by Pleasure.”¹⁴ However, while *The Choice of Hercules* might have reminded at least some viewers of a story they already recognized, it must be admitted that the collection of art at Stourhead was large, and Poussin’s painting has to compete for viewers’ attention with many other striking paintings.

Stourhead’s garden is mainly located a little distance from the house in a secluded valley and laid out around a roughly triangular manmade lake that covers twenty-seven acres. After leaving the house and entering the garden, visitors can easily begin to forget about specific paintings as they become absorbed by the rich vegetation, the flowers and scents, and the sunlight coming through the leaves of the trees.¹⁵ The first building visitors encounter as they follow the intended perambulation of the lake is the Temple of Flora. There is an inscription in Latin over the entrance: “Procul, o procul este profani!” (Begone far from here the profane!).¹⁶ It is worth investigating the significance of this inscription and its function within the garden. The quotation comes from line 258 of the sixth book of Vergil’s epic, the *Aeneid*. This quotation, together with other references to the garden in the *Aeneid*, led Kenneth Woodbridge to suppose that the garden represents in symbolic form its narrative: that is, the voyage of Aeneas from the sack of Troy to the foundation of Rome, and that our movement around the lake rehearses a miniature and symbolic version of that journey.¹⁷ Woodbridge’s view has become very influential: in what is now an interpretive “orthodoxy” (to use Malcolm Kelsall’s word), Stourhead’s grotto becomes the underworld visited by Aeneas, and the Pantheon (Fig. 2) represents Rome by a metonymic effect. (The original Pantheon still survives in Rome.)¹⁸

¹⁴ Ibid., 250.

¹⁵ Paulson stresses this in *Emblem and Expression*, 29.

¹⁶ The quotation from the *Aeneid* (see *The Aeneid of Virgil: A New Verse Translation*, ed. C. Day Lewis [New York: Doubleday, 1953], 137) consists of words uttered by the Sibyl at a liminal place and time: at the crack of dawn on the threshold of the underworld, where she proposes to lead Aeneas. The action takes place on the coast of Italy, and the passage reads (rather unlike the average visit to Stourhead) as follows:

But listen!—at the very first crack of dawn, the ground
Underfoot began to mutter, the woody ridges to quake
And a baying of hounds was heard through the half-light: the goddess was coming,
Hecate. The Sibyl cried:—

Away! Now stand away,
You uninitiated ones, and clear the whole grove!
But you, Aeneas, draw your sword from the scabbard and fare forth!
Now you need all your courage, your steadfastness of heart.

So much she said and, ecstatic, plunged into the opened cave mouth:
Unshrinking went Aeneas step by step with his guide.

¹⁷ Developed most fully in Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity*.

¹⁸ Kelsall, “The Iconography of Stourhead,” 134.

The main point of the present essay is not to argue with Woodbridge, which has been done scrupulously and convincingly by Kelsall, who finds the construction of a garden “to emblemize the founding of a city” to be “a contradiction in terms” and the “proposal that the grotto represents hell” to be “manifestly absurd,” since the grotto is not sublimely hellish but “delightful.”¹⁹ To these objections might be added the problem that the interpretation concludes when we are only halfway around the garden, at the Pantheon. Yet different interpretations can be sustained about a garden that developed throughout several decades.

I do not necessarily require an explanation to embrace all the structures of a garden—I even believe that a “theme” can be created by a certain feature or features and that other features not far away can contribute to a different theme—but Woodbridge’s theory takes us only halfway around the lake in this central part of the garden, the part that visitors today gravitate toward and that even in the eighteenth century, to judge by the evidence left by artists’ drawings, amounted to the most compelling part of the whole. Surely it is possible to find an explanatory theme that can embrace all the buildings built in a classical idiom around the lake?

Woodbridge’s interpretation of the inscription over the Temple of Flora is based upon a strange (and twentieth-century) assumption about the functioning of quotation. The assumption is that one quotes a poem because one intends a reproduction of the poem, is making a summary of the poem, or is otherwise discussing it. Thus students of literature quote sections of poems that they are writing essays about. Early eighteenth-century writers did not necessarily (or even frequently) use quotations in this way. Shaftesbury, for example, quotes the *Aeneid* in “A Notion,” but he did so not because he was retelling the poem or even discussing it: the quotation makes a point about a completely different subject.²⁰

Whatever the merits of Woodbridge’s view, it is nevertheless true that an atmosphere of myth soon begins to envelop the visitor to the garden and that this will not be the last reference to stories happening elsewhere. The important point to make, though, is not the argument with Woodbridge’s interpretation but instead concerns the functioning of the quotation on the Temple of Flora within the garden. When encountered at Stourhead, the words of the quotation are no longer found in the Latin epic, but in a garden. There surely operates a comic, or at least light-hearted, transfer of significance from the world of the *Aeneid* to that of the garden. It is the garden itself, in the immediate shape of the first major feature we encounter, this temple, from which the “profane” are apparently being barred, leaving only the hallowed to enter.

Let us set the story of the *Aeneid* aside and take the view that the garden’s inscriptions refer to the garden’s own spaces, thus approaching the inscription with regard to its linguistic functions rather than its place of origin. The major point to make about the Temple of

¹⁹ Ibid., 137, 139.

²⁰ Shaftesbury, “A Notion,” 251. The point is about how the lover concentrates on every word of the beloved.



2. *Stourhead's Pantheon, built between 1753 and 1754, was a replica of its namesake at Rome.*

Flora's inscription is that it is "fictional." Since it is in Latin, most visitors cannot read it. Even now, however, a minority of visitors can read Latin, and, in the eighteenth century, readers of Latin, while still perhaps only a minority within bourgeois circles, were nevertheless far more numerous. A large number of eighteenth-century visitors would therefore have understood the inscription, and some would have recognized where it originated. In our time, for non-Latin readers, a guidebook to the gardens contains a translation. My point is this: Among those who learn the inscription's meaning and grammatical functioning (the use of the imperative voice, for example), not one would retreat abjectly to the car park and leave the garden. In other words, no one defines himself as "profane" and enjoined to "begone" far away. In fact, such behavior might be said to betray mental anguish or illness in a present-day visitor; moreover, no historical factors lead us to suppose an eighteenth-century response would have been different in this respect, however different it might have been in others.

Thus, while the imperative mood of the inscription strongly suggests the existence of a hearer or reader, the fictional domain that it performs in, or speaks from, which I designate as the garden's "mythic" space—an idea conjured up by the Greco-Roman buildings, statuary, and inscriptions—has at this stage very little connection with the real space occupied by the visitor. It is perhaps the clear perception of this disjunction that can lead visitors to find the exhortation funny. A hand has carved orders that no one in his right mind would obey.



3. The Sleeping Nymph,
grotto, Stourhead

As visitors make their way around the lake at Stourhead, they come to other structures. However, the stage of transition between the Temple of Flora and the next building is perhaps the longest in the garden, when visitors become most absorbed in admiring and smelling the flowering shrubs, finding and identifying the rare trees, wandering short distances from the path, and so on. At the end of this interlude, by which time visitors are thoroughly absorbed in their visit, an elaborate watery grotto, reached by a descending and darkening path, houses a copy of a famous classical statue, *The Sleeping Nymph* (Fig. 3). The nymph is flanked by splashing water from a real spring, and in front of her sanctum a short Renaissance poem translated by Alexander Pope is cut into the floor of the cave:

Nymph of the Grot these sacred springs I keep
And to the murmur of these waters sleep;
Ah! spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence or in silence lave.

The enunciative mode of this inscription differs from the urgent commanding tone of that on the Temple of Flora, being a plea rather than an order, but both inscriptions expect a certain respectful (and chaste), rather than sacrilegious, behavior from the visitor. In that sense these lines share an expectation with the inscription on the Temple of Flora that the “profane”—the uninitiated, the nonsacred—have no place in this part of the garden; only

a satyr would disturb this nymph after reading the poem. On that level, like the previous inscription, the lines imply for their model reader a status that is still fictional, since the “nymph” is a stone statue that cannot be molested and, to that extent, the mythic world called into being by the garden continues to be fictional. However, while the inscription cannot bridge the gap between the implied mythic world of the garden features and the real world of the visitor, three things occur linguistically within the inscription to narrow that gap. First, the inscription is in the vernacular tongue and no longer in Latin. Second, the poem refers to “these sacred springs,” which the visitor must interpret as the real water spilling into the grotto. Third, and most importantly, the inscription’s enunciative mode implies an eventual subject-position for the visitor.

It is important now to distinguish between the two concepts that inform my analysis. The distinction is between an individual’s sense of his own uniqueness or subjectivity, on one hand, and the concept of subject-position on the other. The first concept I term the psychoanalytic subjectivity: each individual feels himself to be a unique psychic entity transcending each specific experience that he accumulates and ensuring the perpetuation of consciousness. The subject-position, by contrast, is a function of language: it is a shared property that all people can step into at differing times in conversation or in other verbal utterance. The French structuralist linguist Benveniste dwells on the dependent relationship of the linguistic functions *I/thou*:

The consciousness of self is only possible if it is experienced by contrast. I only employ *I* in addressing someone, who in my address will be a *thou*. It is this condition of dialogue which is constitutive of the *person*, for it implies a reciprocity that I become *thou* in the speech of him who in his turn designates himself as *I*. It is in this that we see a principle the consequences of which are to unroll in all directions. Language is only possible because the speaker designates himself as subject. . . . The polarity of persons, that is the fundamental condition of language, of which the process of communication, of which we are part, is simply a completely pragmatic consequence . . . “ego” always has a position of transcendence with regard to *thou*; nevertheless, neither of the terms can be conceived without the other; they are complementary, but according to an “interior/exterior” opposition, and at the same time, they are reversible.²¹

In these passages, Benveniste expresses the kernel of intersubjectivity that underlies his theory of language. The *I* that makes language possible is constituted by its contrasting and reversible relationship with the *thou*. In other words, it is constituted solely by an intersubjective exchange or reciprocity. At the same time, the word *I* is the clearest example of the linguistic subject-position, which is the exclusive property of no one, and which

²¹ Benveniste, “De la subjectivité dans le langage,” in *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 260. The *persons* Benveniste refers to are, of course, *persons* in the linguistic sense (first and second). I translate the French *tu* as *thou*. Michel Foucault expanded the concepts formed by structural linguistics in interesting ways, esp. with respect to subject-positions, in *L’archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969); trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972).

each speaker occupies in turn when they wish to make a statement in the first person.

In this essay, I am more interested in the linguistically created subject-position than in the psychoanalytic self, although it is that self that accumulates the linguistic experiences of reading the inscriptions and responds to them. In this regard, it is worth noting that in several parts of his discourse Benveniste emphasizes that linguistic rules are generally employed unconsciously: “[O]utside the case of linguistic study itself, we have only the weakest and most fleeting consciousness of the operations we accomplish in order to speak.”²² Reverting to the poem in the grotto with these propositions in mind, we find that the nymph’s own imagined subjectivity, explicitly invoked by the word *I* in the quatrain, reaches out of the mythic domain toward the visitor, whom it implicitly positions as *thou*. It is also worth noting that the demonstrative pronoun *these* in the inscription “these sacred springs” also strongly implies the linguistic subjectivity of the visitor, since it takes its meaning, by spatial proximity, from the *I* that is enunciated and, like *I*, displays itself for *thou*.²³

Wrapped perhaps in an atmosphere of sanctity (both inscriptions imply, or refer overtly to, the condition of sacredness as a quality of the garden), the visitor proceeds to another part of the grotto to discover the river god (Fig. 4).²⁴ Through his sculpted urn flows the channeled water of the largest of the seven springs feeding the lake at Stourhead. The grand gesture of his large, uplifted right arm points the visitor’s way out of the grotto up an adjacent steep spiraling rocky path. The gesture could be construed as either advising or commanding. It also clearly implies, nonverbally, both an *I*—the subject who makes the gesture—and a *thou*—the viewer of the gesture, the person for whom the gesture is made. In terms of the relations between the garden’s mythic space and the garden’s real space, even though the river god bears no inscription, he leads visitors across a crucial threshold. To leave the grotto we either have to follow his gesture or depart the way we entered, but whichever way we decide to move, we seem to be responding to his gesture. Therefore, the mythic world represented by the Greco-Roman garden features of Stourhead can no longer be thought completely fictional, as it is at the Temple of Flora.

If we choose to go on, it is in front of the river god that mythic space and real space unite. We have already begun to participate in the myth, and the subject-position of a reader or visitor implied by the inscriptions now coincides coherently with the psychoanalytic subjectivity of the actual visitor. A sequence is clearly comprehensible: (1) the inscription on the Temple of Flora, introducing mythic space verbally but leaving real space and mythic space separate and mythic space fictional; (2) the inscription in front of the sleeping nymph, drawing the types of space much closer and introducing the visitor as an implied *thou* into mythic space; (3) by the time we reach the river god, monitory inscriptions have fallen

²² Benveniste, *Problèmes*, 63. This point helps overcome the objection that few visitors to Stourhead have any conscious apprehension of the intersubjective functions that I focus on in this essay.

²³ Cf. Benveniste, “The Nature of Pronouns,” in *Problèmes*, 253.

²⁴ The river god is an almost exact replica in 3 dimensions of the god of the Tiber River in an etching by the 17th-century Italian Salvator Rosa, found in an edition of the *Aeneid*. An illustration of it appears in Woodbridge, *The Stourhead Landscape* (Stourhead: National Trust, 1982), 50.



4. The River God, *acquired in 1751, grotto, Stourhead*

away, and all we need to be left with is the statue, occupying the same three-dimensional space as ourselves, and sealing mythic and real space together by his gesture, to which we inevitably respond.

After these references, and a considerable lapse after leaving the house, visitors arrive at the Pantheon, the largest building in the garden. Inside, they encounter Rysbrack's statue of Hercules (Fig. 5), commissioned by Hoare in 1747 and installed in the Pantheon when that building was completed in 1754. Hoare's own description of the sculptor's response to the interior testifies to the grandeur of the statement being made: "I thought old Rysbrack would have wept for joy to see his offspring placed to such advantage. He thinks it impossible for such a space to have more magnificence in it and striking awe than he found there."²⁵ The hero is flanked by statues of two female deities. In fact Hercules has his body and his head oriented in slightly differing directions; his body inclines toward Flora to his right, while his head faces the statue of Livia Augusta as Ceres, who is placed to his left.

This posture of Hercules is similar to that prescribed in "A Notion" by Shaftesbury, who had recommended that Hercules be shown with his body still inclined toward Pleasure and his head "looking earnestly and with extreme attention" toward Virtue. The division between mind and body would thus dramatize the moral essence of the Herculean

²⁵ Letter to his daughter Susanna, Lady Bruce, 1762, *ibid.*, 52.



5. *Andrea Soldi (1703–1771), John Michael Rysbrack, 1753, which depicts Rysbrack next to his statuette of Hercules (Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven, Conn.)*



6. Samuel Woodforde (1763–1817), *The Interior of the Pantheon at Stourhead*, 1784
(photo: National Trust Photographic Library/Charlie Waite)

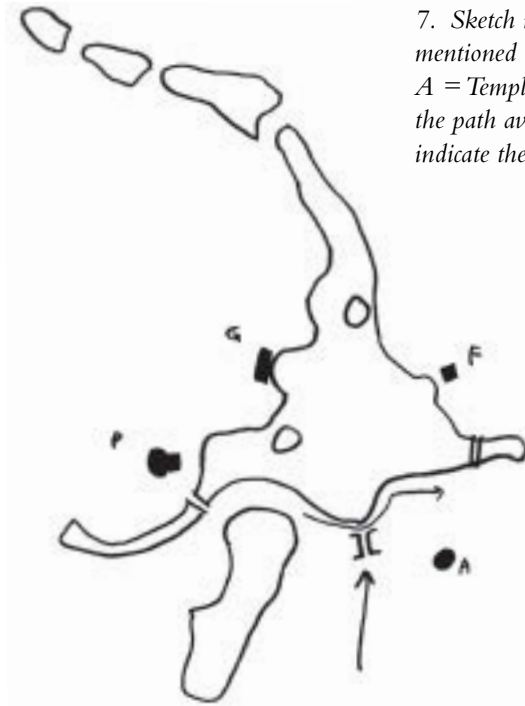
choice.²⁶ The sculpture inside the Pantheon therefore amounts to an emphatic restatement of the myth of Hercules and the Herculean choice. Given the various distractions with which visitors have had to deal on their way to this point, initial reaction might be puzzlement as to why this stressed restatement has occurred, apparently in the middle of references to the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, primed by our encounters in the grotto, we might also expect the statues in the Pantheon (Fig. 6) to participate actively in some fashion in our tour, to engage us in an intersubjective exchange, and we may be puzzled about why they do not seem to do so.

If puzzlement about the presence of Hercules in the Pantheon is felt by visitors, the feeling would probably remain as the path continues around the lake over the dam, until visitors arrive at a place where the path divides (Fig. 7). While the path divides at many places at Stourhead, it never does so in quite the way that it does at the foot of the Rock Arch. Ahead lies a smooth, easy path around the lake and leading to the village, where a pub serves excellent beer and a tea shop provides good cream teas (and the inn, at least, existed in the eighteenth century). To the right is the Rock Arch: a very narrow, very rocky path winds steeply up an artificially constructed hillside that bridges a public road and only joins the real hillside some way up it, through an archway of rough stones. In his essay on the Choice of Hercules, Shaftesbury states that “the double way of the vale and mountain” could best be represented from the mountain’s foot.²⁷

This parting of the ways in Stourhead garden is the equivalent of this key position in Shaftesbury’s explanation. If visitors, as many do, choose the easy path, they miss the Hermitage and the Temple of Apollo on its lofty hill, the climax of the garden. The Temple of Apollo gives the grandest views back over the lake, and it is the only place from which we can trace out something like the whole picture of the garden. Something quite extraordinary has happened. At the foot of the Rock Arch we have been asked to enact the Choice of Hercules, which has been translated precisely into the terms of garden design. With neither inscription nor statuary to prompt us, we are taken through a place in which, inevitably, we make a choice (even if we merely walk across the space unaware of making any choice, we in effect choose the easy way). In making the choice, our curiosity, memory, and determination must contribute if we are not to leave it to chance, to hunger and thirst, or to momentary impulse. It is even possible to specify which of the eighteenth-century variations of the Choice this is: it is surely one that has neither Vice nor Pleasure as the alternative to Virtue, but Indolence or Laziness. Our ability to accept the subject-position that the garden has invited us to occupy is quite clearly involved. Not only does the steep ascent of the Rock Arch echo, in its awkward twisting form, the exit from the river god’s grotto, but also here real space and mythic space, united in front of the river god, continue

²⁶ Shaftesbury, “A Notion,” 248–49. I am grateful to Elizabeth Eustis of the Radcliffe Institute for pointing out to me that Hercules is depicted in this posture in the 1646 engraving *Hesperides* by Giovanni Battista Ferrari. Possibly this engraving furnished Rysbrack with the attitude that he used in the clay model of Hercules of 1744, on the basis of which he later secured Hoare’s commission.

²⁷ Shaftesbury, “A Notion,” 256.



7. Sketch map of the lake at Stourhead showing features mentioned in this essay: (clockwise) F = Temple of Flora; A = Temple of Apollo; curved line with arrow indicates the path avoiding the Temple of Apollo and brackets below indicate the Rock Arch; P = Pantheon; G = grotto.

to share the same physical dimensions. The lack of an admonishing statue here simply ensures that the space and the choice we make in it cannot be construed as fictional. It may be mythic and real at the same time, but unlike the inscription at the Temple of Flora, it cannot be discounted immediately and offhandedly as an irrelevant space and a fictional choice.

Through the grand view from the Temple of Apollo at the top of its high hill, with the whole garden laid out at the hill's foot, Hoare has given visitors a sort of optical or even conceptual possession of the garden as a whole (Fig. 8). It is worth asking, therefore, what his attitude was toward moral conduct and its connection with the possession of a large, beautiful garden. Some indications can be derived from letters that he wrote to his nephew, Richard Hoare, in the 1750s: "Whether at pleasure or business let us be in earnest and ever active to be outdone or exceeded by none, that is the way to thrive." This phrase further confirms that he was not imagining the choice as a rejection of pleasure. His praise of activity (and by implication, condemnation of idleness) continues:

I hear you have been at Stourhead without the Dame, and so saw undelighted all delight tho' you trod the enchanting paths of Paradise. . . . What is there in creation . . . those are the fruits of industry and application to business and shows what great things may be done by it, the envy of the indolent who have no claim to temples, grottos, bridges, rocks, exotic pines and ice in summer. When those are won by the industrious, they have the best claim to them provided their foundations is [*sic*] laid



8. *View from in front of the Temple of Apollo, Stourhead, mid-1980s*

by the hand of prudence and supported by perseverance in well-doing and cautious watchfulness over the main chance.²⁸

Not only are virtue and vice realigned as industry and indolence in this view (and this realignment can be termed the secularized version of the choice), but possession of a great garden is stated to be the fitting reward of productive activity (“industry and application to business”) and moral choice (“perseverance in well-doing”). Such rewards are denied to “the indolent.” The whole passage takes on a somewhat different tone, however, in the light of rumors that Hoare’s family bank profited greatly from the South Sea Bubble financial scandal, though the hint of historical opportunism could be perhaps designated in the letter by the words “watchfulness over the main chance.”

It is worth dwelling on the syntagmatic chain by which Hoare characterizes the ele-

²⁸ Woodbridge, *The Stourhead Landscape*, 17. “Exotic pines” are pineapples, not pine trees, and the term is used to designate not only pineapples but all hothouse fruit.

ments of a garden that can be “won by the industrious.” “Temples, grottos, bridges, rocks, exotic pines and ice in summer” seem a random jumble of ingredients. Yet all the specified objects exist at Stourhead itself (which is, after all, the garden in Hoare’s letter). We encounter a sequence that implies movement leading to a climax. “Temples” would embrace the Temple of Apollo, the Pantheon in the middle, and the Temple of Flora at the beginning of the circuit walk. The major grotto obviously is that occupied by the nymph and river god, though in the eighteenth century the hermitage, perched on the shoulder of Apollo’s hill, was also grotesque. “Bridges” are necessary to cross two of the branches of the lake, but the Rock Arch, which carries the path of virtue toward the path to the Temple of Apollo, is also a bridge over the public road to Stourton.

“Rocks” are most prominently in evidence in the middle and toward the climax of the walk, in the Grotto and at the Rock Arch. So far Hoare’s syntagmatic chain (and we must remember that he is imagining a visitor’s experience, not his own) implies movement through several series of features and from the beginning of the garden circuit toward the end. The chain then climaxes in the reward that greets the virtuous, figured as sensory delights: pineapples and ice. The reward is pleasure.²⁹ The Herculean Choice between industry and idleness has been translated precisely into the terms of what the garden could offer.

Eighteenth-century Britain’s greatest version of the Hercules myth is a bourgeois version in a landscape garden made by a banker, thereby reflecting Britain’s emerging geopolitical position as the world’s major mercantile and bourgeois power. The Treaty of Utrecht, negotiated by Tory politicians in 1713, laid the foundation of this status by ensuring a virtual monopoly of North Atlantic trade, and the exploitation of Africa, the West Indies, and North America remained the primary activity for the increase of wealth until the invasion and exploitation of India began in the early 1780s after American independence.³⁰ The value of exports to the Carolinas, for example, increased sevenfold from 1713 to 1739.³¹

Situated at the outset of the age of industrialization, Hoare’s attitudes to morality are enmeshed with certain views of work discipline.³² The issues of industry, idleness, and unemployment have run right through the history of capitalism in its industrial phase, not least in the late twentieth century, when equation of vice with idleness, virtue with industriousness, continues to motivate debates about the welfare state, unemployment compen-

²⁹ To choose the way of Virtue at Stourhead, we need not reject pleasure but must put considerable effort into the uphill walk, and so reject idleness or laziness.

³⁰ Frank O’Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688–1832* (London: Arnold, 1997), 54: “The Treaty of Utrecht thus clearly recognized not only Britain’s rise to eminence in Europe but also her new status as a world power.”

³¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 69.

³² The issue of industry and idleness as factors in work discipline is an enormous one with a large scholarly literature. A valuable contribution focusing on the immediate preindustrial and early industrial era is E. P. Thompson, “Time, Industry, and Work-Discipline,” *Past and Present* 38 (1967), repr. in Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: New Press, 1993), 352–403.

sation, and the relationship between capitalism and a country's citizens in Europe and North America during and after the Ronald Reagan/Margaret Thatcher era of the 1980s.

The effects of mercantile morality, which would tend to equate lack of labor with willful idleness, and idleness with vice, and to confine the rewards of industry to a few—tendencies presumably contested by traditional labor organizations—now affect in economic terms everyone in the world. Hoare provided a most unusual and perhaps unique contribution to the debate by using a setting that embodies the greatest rewards of financial success to stage the myth that sums up the moral debate. The very fact, however, that Stourhead is only semi-private and can be visited, at certain times, by anyone who can afford the entrance fee perhaps itself decides the secularized version of the debate, by suggesting that the more that rewards of wealth become accessible to all, the better.

The Choice of Hercules remained a significant national myth up to and beyond the end of the eighteenth century. This is hardly the place for a thorough scrutiny of all uses of it, and I cite only three examples. It informs the structure of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem, "Fears in Solitude," written under the threat of a national emergency and invasion scare in 1798. Vice informs the poet's satirical attack on contemporary political infamy:

Oh! my countrymen!
We have offended very grievously,
And been most tyrannous. From east to west
A groan of accusation pierces Heaven!³³

And a Herculean virtue makes itself felt after the poet implores God to spare the nation:

Sons, brothers, husbands . . .
make yourselves pure!
Stand forth! be men! repel an impious foe,
Impious and false, a light yet cruel race,
Who laugh away all virtue, mingling mirth
With deeds of murder.³⁴

The same iconography informs Arthur Hacker's *The Cloister or the World?*, Picture of the Year at the Royal Academy in 1904, in which a nun chooses between an angel and idleness (Fig. 9). The Judgment of Hercules is also employed as a structural device by George Eliot in her 1859 novel, *Adam Bede*, set amid fears of Napoleonic invasion beginning in 1799. Even without a comprehensive and exhaustive examination of Eliot's book, the importance of this theme is quite plain. The novel suggests various ways in which the Herculean choice

³³ Coleridge, *Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald Stauffer (New York: Random House, 1951), 65, lines 41–44.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 134, 138–42.

might become part of the ordinary felt experience of normal life. At the outset, Adam Bede is introduced in Herculean terms:

The broad chest belonged to a large-boned muscular man nearly six feet high, with a back so flat and a head so well poised that when he drew himself up to take a more distant survey of his work, he had the air of a soldier standing at ease. The sleeve rolled up above the elbow showed an arm that was likely to win the prize for feats of strength.³⁵

Then Adam is noticed by an elderly traveler, who describes him to a local publican:

'I met as fine a young fellow as ever I saw in my life, about half an hour ago, before I came up the hill—a carpenter, a tall broad-shouldered fellow . . . marching along like a soldier. We want such fellows as he to lick the French.' Whereupon the publican replies: 'Ay, sir, that's Adam Bede . . . He's an uncommon clever stiddy fellow, an' wonderful strong . . . he can walk forty mile a-day, an' lift a matter of sixty ston'.³⁶

Adam's characterization also involves actions involving appropriate work discipline as opposed to idleness. One of his Herculean tasks is laboring through the night to make a coffin after having worked all day. His old father, who should have made the coffin during the day, has preferred to go off to the Waggon Overthrow pub instead.³⁷ The plot unfolds as our Hercules has to choose between two local girls, Hetty Sorrel and Dinah Morris. Initially Adam has, in the words of his mother, "set's heart on that Hetty Sorrel, as 'ull niver save a penny, an' 'ull toss up her head at's old mother . . . An' he so wise at bookin' an' figurin', an' not to know no better nor that!"³⁸ We notice that the Shaftesburian body/mind (or heart/head) split is played upon here by Eliot.³⁹

The first descriptive word for Hetty is "distractingly"; and she is "self-possessed . . . coquettish . . . sily conscious."⁴⁰ In a phrase that links coquettishness to vice, we learn that Hetty liked to have Adam "under the yoke of her coquettish tyranny."⁴¹ However, Hetty is not so much actively wicked as morally feeble and idle—too idle to "care to know" what the pictures in *Pilgrim's Progress* or the Bible "meant."⁴² She is repeatedly shown to be narcissistic. Eventually she is seduced by the young local landowner, becomes pregnant, murders her child, is condemned to death, is comforted in the wagon that takes her to the scaffold by Dinah Morris, and is finally reprieved.

In direct contrast to Hetty is Dinah, who embodies virtue (a teacher—a Methodist

³⁵ Eliot, *Adam Bede* (1859), repr. ed. Stephen Gill (London: Penguin, 1980), 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 61. Sixty stone equals 840 lbs.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 83–95.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

³⁹ Shaftesbury, "A Notion," 250.

⁴⁰ *Adam Bede*, 127.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 187.



9. Arthur Hacker (1763–1817), *The Cloister or the World?*, 1896, oil on canvas, 218 x 170 cm, Bradford Art Galleries and Museums, West Yorkshire

preacher), takes virtuous actions (comforting Hetty and trying to save her soul, helping others by her good work and her spiritual influence),⁴³ and consciously tries to choose the virtuous life, figuring it to Adam as her own Herculean choice:

It seems to me as if you were stretching out your arms to me, and beckoning me to come and take my ease, and live for my own delight, and Jesus, the Man of Sorrows, was standing looking towards me, and pointing to the sinful, and suffering, and afflicted. I have seen that again and again when I have been sitting in stillness and darkness.⁴⁴

After this admission it is up to Adam to persuade Dinah that in accepting him she is not choosing the way of idleness/vice. Imagery that recalls the Choice is not confined to these three main characters; it also extends to the landscape. Repeated evocations of the green, lush countryside of Loamshire, where Adam and Hetty live, offers contrast with the bleaker, barer uplands of neighboring Stonyshire, to which Dinah has moved, where wages are higher and people's religious awareness keener.⁴⁵ Eventually Adam has to make a long journey into Dinah's new home county in order to win her—the climactic moment coming near the top of a strangely bare gray hill. The entire novel consistently bears out the central point that Adam makes early on: "It's plain enough you get into the wrong road i' this life if you run after this and that only for the sake o' making things easy and pleasant to yourself."⁴⁶ What distinguishes the treatment of the Herculean choice in *Adam Bede* is the way the novel allows Methodist religious conviction to form an essential foundation stone of virtue.

Far different from his use at Versailles or Het Loo, at Stourhead, and in Eliot's novel, Hercules as chooser between idleness and industry functions as a subject-position for ordinary people, such as all visitors to Stourhead garden. Readers of *Adam Bede* first see Adam, a master carpenter, taking on the position of Hercules, and then see the virtuous Dinah, a millworker, figuring her anxieties to herself through the use of the motif before, in a self-reflexive moment, inevitably wondering to what extent they themselves live up to the ideal that it represents.⁴⁷ *Adam Bede* has this much in common with the use of the Hercules myth at Het Loo, Hampton Court, and elsewhere in that both suggest that the myth becomes of national importance in the context of armed conflict with France. They also suggest that a consistent idea in its employment is the connection with Protestantism. Stourhead and *Adam Bede*'s common ground is to define the myth in terms of industry and idleness, although in Eliot's novel the spiritual dimension constantly forces its way to the foreground.

⁴³ Ibid., 157–59; comforting Hetty: *ibid.*, 491–500, 505–7.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 553.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 137; see also 61, 121, 165.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 93.

⁴⁷ At Stourhead visitors descending from the Temple of Apollo encounter the Bristol Cross. This Christian symbol paid for originally by medieval merchants of the city of Bristol can perhaps be taken as a sign that virtue exists outside the garden and within the mercantile class.

The garden and the novel also suggest that from the first half of the eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth, the Choice of Hercules continued to be a means in English culture of figuring elements of the discourse of industry and idleness. While the moral point of the novel cannot be entirely reduced to this, it could be argued that in part it offers an elegiac view of a vanishing, carefree, rural England, while embracing the sterner values of an industrial nation in a competitive world, and it uses the Herculean choice as a way of figuring that shift.⁴⁸ Hercules is inlaid into the “cabinet” of the religion, morality, and work discipline of the nation, as represented in Eliot’s novel.

Because Stourhead garden provides such profound delight to visitors, it is clear that the subtly used Herculean myth, relying on suggestion rather than overt inscription, has been successfully translated into garden terms. This delight also depends upon the garden’s intersubjectivity, which requires us to participate in the myth, either knowingly or unknowingly. In an earlier essay, I suggested that Hoare was a sort of stage manager, preparing a space in which Hercules, Apollo, the hermit, the river god, the nymph, and the visitor were the actors.⁴⁹ This theatrical analogy is still pertinent, but it must be supplemented by an understanding of how the garden prepares a subject-position for the visitor and one that allows him to tread a space simultaneously mythic and real. We see clearly that author function is not the same as subject-position: Hoare, who caused the Rock Arch to be built, is the author of the situation (although the various authors who contributed to the mythology of Hercules must also be understood as sharing that function); the subject-position (which corresponds, if a particular decision about which path to take is made, to a Herculean subject identity) is taken up by every visitor to the garden.

As Michel Foucault felicitously puts it, “[T]he subject of the statement . . . is a particular, vacant place that may in fact be filled by different individuals.”⁵⁰ This is not simply a happy accident of language that makes it look as if Foucault is writing about an empty space in a garden where two paths diverge. He is defining the “statement,” a “function that cuts across a domain of structures and possible unities, and which reveals them, with concrete contents, in time and space.”⁵¹ On the basis of this definition, it becomes clear that another way of classifying the Choice of Hercules, apart from an iconography, a myth, a motif, or a theme, is as a “statement” in the discourse of industry and idleness, a discourse that embraces the eighteenth-, later nineteenth-, twentieth-century, and contemporary contributions to which I have referred.

However, the Choice should also be seen as a possible lived experience. There was another element in Hoare’s attitudes toward industry and idleness that takes our under-

⁴⁸ The place of geopolitical rivalry in the relations between the political interests of land and trade in Britain is emphasized by Colley, *Britons*, 99: “The fact that Britain’s foremost enemy was also perceived, quite correctly, as its chief rival in terms of overseas and internal trade, meant that those who governed Great Britain could usually rely on substantial commercial support in time of war and invasion threats.”

⁴⁹ My “On Meeting Hercules in Stourhead,” 73, 75.

⁵⁰ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 95.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 87. The “statement” is also a “function of existence that properly belongs to signs” (86), and “that which enables such groups of signs to exist” (88).

standing of the garden onto a profounder psychological level—an element where his own subjectivity (rather than that of the visitor's experience) was clearly in the foreground, and a situation in which Hoare himself was forced to enact a commitment to industrious activity. The building of the Pantheon and the creation of the Rock Arch came after an interruption to the work of making the garden caused by a grievous personal loss: Hoare's only surviving son died while on a Grand Tour of Italy in 1751. For two years after, no work was done on the formation of the garden. Hoare's own recommitment to the Herculean choice of energetic activity and industry, shown by beginning work on the Pantheon in 1753, therefore also amounts to a successful resolution of the work of mourning. Or to put it another way: Taking up work on the garden again involved Hoare occupying the subject-position of energetic virtue as opposed to depressed idleness. It involved him becoming a participant in the myth that he was himself causing to be enunciated in his garden.⁵²

Gardens and the spaces within them are both real and symbolic at the same time. Entering them, visitors possess a psychoanalytic subjectivity but are also invited to occupy a subject-position. The invitation works not only by inscription but also by arranging for the visitor encounters with statues and spaces.

Gardens, therefore, offer a double binary system to the visitor. Benveniste's version of structuralist linguistics offers a remarkably precise way of analyzing the functions of garden inscriptions. Since inscriptions are verbal and feature in a host of gardens from Althorp to Bomarzo, it seems useful to apply a theory of verbal utterances to an analysis of them. Part of Benveniste's theorization of language hinges upon subjectivity and intersubjectivity, that uniquely linguistic function, and so seems to offer fertile possibilities to scholars interested in examining the effects of gardens on their visitors, rather than contenting themselves with considering gardens from the point of view of their makers. In gardens, the subjectivity that in verbal utterance is designated by the word *I* becomes a fully embodied presence, a person moving through three-dimensional space and through time.

The inscriptions at Stourhead invite the visitor across a crucial threshold that separates the mythic domain of the garden from real space. The intersubjective exchange set up verbally persists spatially in places with no inscriptions. Both these lessons that we can learn from Stourhead presumably apply to other gardens, but in each case there would be a unique purpose or effect achieved. By giving us a means for theorizing how we are invited linguistically into the mythic, poetic, or sacred spaces of a garden as a participant rather than as a mere onlooker, Benveniste's theorization gives us a tool to help with the understanding of why we feel different in gardens compared with how we feel in other, "everyday" space.

⁵² In terms suggested by John Dixon Hunt in this volume, Stourhead is a *stroll garden*, in which the presence of further features leads the visitor on to an unfolding exploration. However, if one visited Stourhead to make the Choice of Hercules at the foot of the Rock Arch deliberately, it presumably becomes a *ritual* or *processional garden*. One person for whom the choice could conceivably have been deliberate and taken in full knowledge of its implications was Hoare himself.

Landscape Metaphors and Metamorphosis of Time

Michel Conan

In an essay on painting and motion, Charles Lapicque revisits Henri Bergson's arguments about motion, time, and self-awareness by asking: "Why do we see a horse jump?"¹ Lapicque's argument runs like this: Imagine a horse jumping. It runs up, rises, leaves the ground altogether, swings above a hedge, reaches for the ground, touches it, and then resumes its gallop. We think that this motion takes place in time. Why? Because we can follow the arm of a chronometer ticking away during this event, and we may claim that the number of tickings between the lifting up and the landing of the horse measures the duration of the motion.

However, following Lapicque we might ask: When the horse lands on the turf, who remembers that it lifted itself up? Is it the chronometer, its arm, or time? Certainly not: Only an observer remembers because the observer exercises self-awareness and memory. It is worth noting that reflecting upon motion introduces not only a philosophical question about time where Bergson falls back on St. Augustine's remarks about the lack of extension of time, but also an ontological question.² An observer lacking memory, no matter how clear that person's self-awareness, would take note of the simultaneous occurrence of each position of the clock arm and the horse but would not link these events as a set. Only the observer's sense of being a witness to the jump from beginning to end allows the gathering of a memory of all these actions into a whole—a single behavior that is "the jump"—as motion, as a "rhythmic organization of a whole."³ Time is indefinitely divisible into a chronometer's clickings; motion is not, because it depends upon an observer exercising memory.

¹ Lapicque, *Essais sur l'espace, l'art et la destinée* (Paris: Grasset, 1958).

² In his *Confessions*, Book 11 (chap. 14: 17), St. Augustine asks, "What is time actually?" ("Quod enim est tempus?"). Then he remarks, "If nobody asks, I know. If anybody raises the question and I want to explain, I do not know any more." In everyday language the existence of time is taken for granted: future times will happen; past times have been; and present time is fleeing. But the skeptical argument denies any existence to time: times past are no longer; future times are not yet; and present time vanishes before it has been named. So there is no being of time, and so time cannot be measured, since it has no being. St. Augustine proposes a solution by introducing "memory" and "expectation." See Paul Ricoeur, *Temps et récit* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), vol. 1, *L'Intrigue et le récit historique*, chap. 1, "Les Apories de l'expérience du temps."

³ According to Bergson, who proposed a philosophy of intuition that leads to a renewal of the notion



1. Randolph Caldecott's illustration of a horse in motion, from Thomas Cowper, *The Diverting History of John Gilpin* (London: Edmund Evans), ca. 1880s

Lapicque then proceeds to scrutinize art. When looking at paintings that show subjects in motion, most observers see them *in motion*, but Lapicque states that photographs or paintings usually seem as *motionless* as “running” horses on a merry-go-round (Fig. 1). His analysis, which accounts for a direct observer’s perception of motion, fails for a third person’s perception (the observer of the painter who looks at the motion of a first person). This points to fundamental differences between being in a landscape as the person *in motion* for whom the preceding argument can be repeated, watching motion in a landscape, and watch-

of time, which he has called *duration*. Following many German philosophers, he proposed to study the intuition that enables humans to explore the mind beyond the reach of knowledge by the intellect. But he reproached his predecessors with believing that the intellect operates within the frame of time and that to move beyond the reach of intellect one had to move out of time. Thus they postulated the everlasting nature of intuition, and postulated an everlasting Idea, or Will, that was supposed to account for all concepts in pantheistic fashion. Instead, Bergson wished to pursue a study of the intuition of an inner sense of duration, a vision of the mind by mind itself. This duration, which is the life of the mind, has to be recovered from the immediate consciousness and is hardly distinguishable from the object of perception itself. See Bergson, *La Pensée et le mouvant* (Paris: Ellipses, 1938).

ing a representation of motion in a landscape, such as a painting or a photograph. Such a fundamental difference between landscape and painting has been alluded to many times since the advent of the picturesque aesthetic. A post-Renaissance painting is meant to be looked at from a single point of view, while a picturesque landscape garden is meant to be viewed from many points of view by an observer moving through it. This remark only confuses the argument because it assumes that aesthetic appreciation of the landscape garden should be directed to its gestalt, as it is directed to the gestalt of a painting. We should ask instead about the experience⁴ from the point of view of an observer moving in the garden because this is where Lapidus's difficulties point to an essential difference between experience of landscape and its representation. Designers might think of landscape in terms of users and observers, and garden history too could be written from such a perspective. Thus an examination of motion from a Bergsonian perspective calls into question the duality of observer and horse—of subject and object—with which it was introduced, since the object's motion comes into being only through the mental recapitulation of the subject. In that respect, motion is not simply a displacement through time, but rather part and parcel of the experience of vitality by the horse's observer.

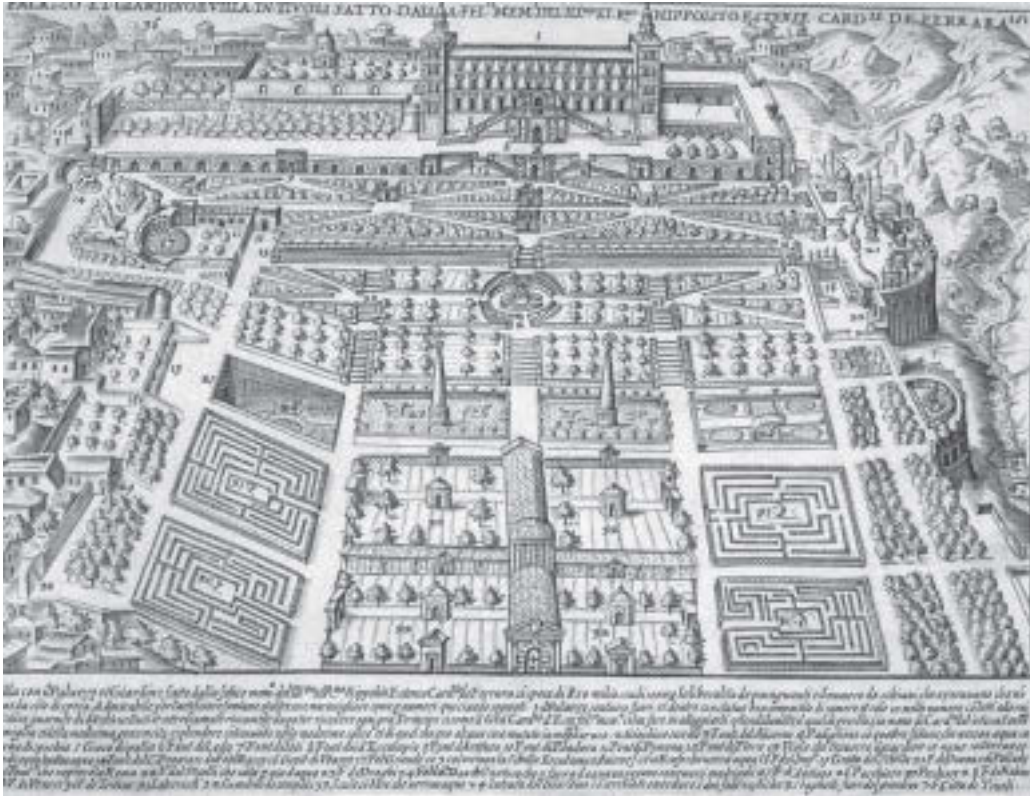
Two Landscape Metaphors of Moral Choice

Villa d'Este at Tivoli

David Coffin deliberately took garden history in this direction, as evidenced in passages of his study of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli near Rome (Figs. 2–7).⁵ Coffin introduced a method for garden history that has unfortunately been little remarked upon and calls for

⁴ Post-World War II, U.S.-based studies of motion and everyday life have been dominated by approaches and methods derived from behavioral or cognitive psychology, relying upon analytical concepts such as privacy, territoriality, spatial behavior, spatial preference, attitudes toward nature, defensible space, and cognitive maps to define their objects of research. The practical interest of this research has not prevented a criticism for its lack of attention to the concreteness and particularity of experiences of daily life. *Phenomenology* is the study of phenomena as experienced by humanity, writes Amedeo Giorgi in the introduction to *Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology*, ed. A. Giorgi, W. Fischer, and R. Von Eckartsberg (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Duquesne University Press/Humanities Press, 1973). It is an effort to reach for an understanding of the most elementary aspects of human relationships to the surrounding world, to discover what is universal in human ways of relating to all nature before it has been elaborated by some community culture and has given rise to more or less sophisticated views of the world that are shared and taken for granted by all members of a cultural community. Phenomenology, according to Herbert Spiegelberg, “bids us to turn toward phenomena which had been blocked from sight by the theoretical pattern in front of them.” See Spiegelberg, *The Phenomenological Movement: An Historical Introduction* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1976). David Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest, and Encounter* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), provides a useful discussion of cognitive and behaviorist theories of movement as well as an introduction to the basic concepts of phenomenology applied to environmental studies. It concludes with “Movement and Rest” and “Place Ballet as a Whole,” two studies that built upon previous works such as Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (New York: Humanities Press, 1962, repr. ed., orig. pub. 1945).

⁵ Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

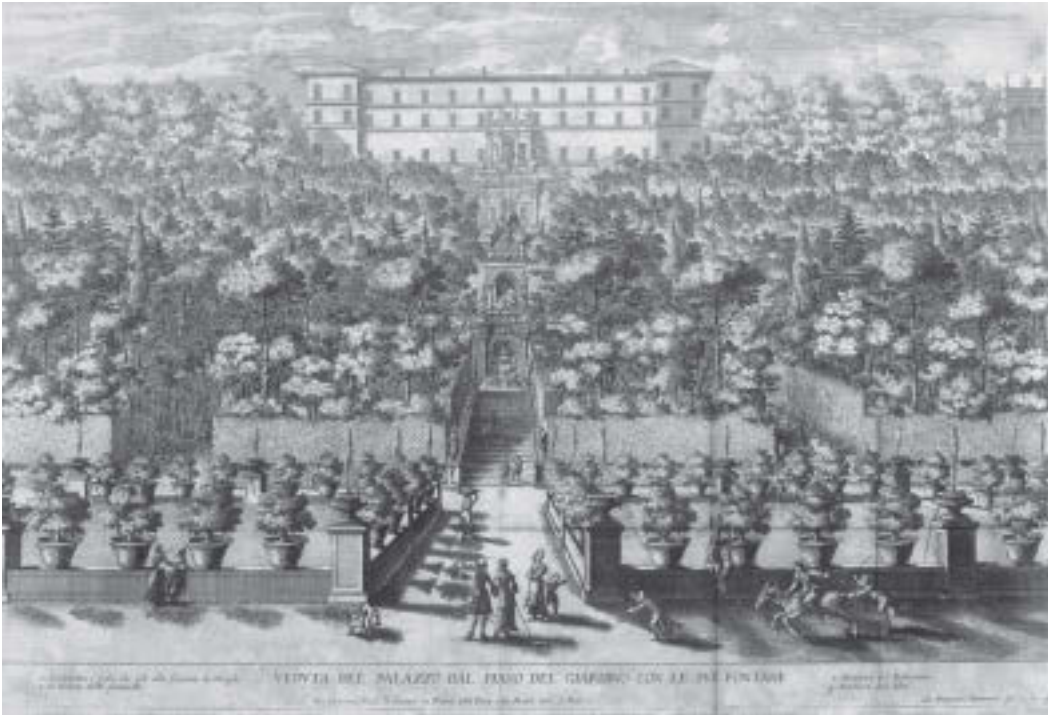


2. Plan of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, Italy, from Giacomo Lauro, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* . . . (Rome, 1612)

larger discussions that I must eschew in this essay. He reconstructed, with the help of visual documents and texts that provide a precise understanding of aspects of the Villa d'Este's design and iconography, the intentions that presided over the layout of Cardinal Hippolyte II's gardens. Since they were never completed as intended and had been deliberately altered beyond recognition before the cardinal's death in 1572,⁶ Coffin presented a reconstruction of a visitor's experiences, *had* the initial layout been realized.

He demonstrated that visitors coming from the door at the lower end of the axis

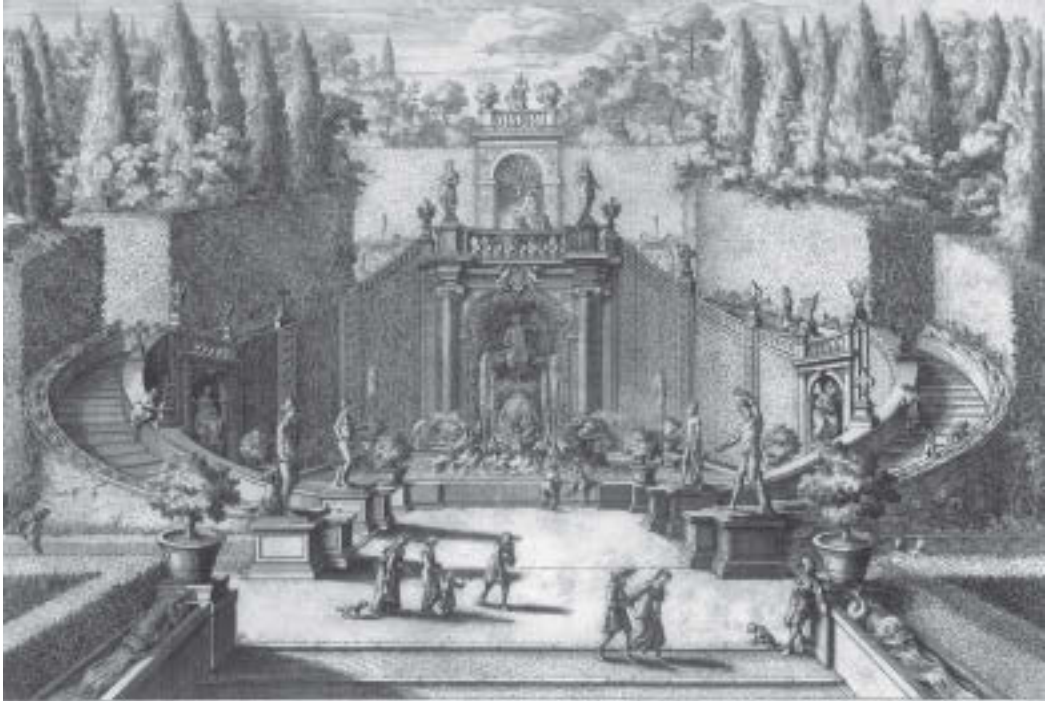
⁶ Ibid., chap. 2. In the first descriptions of the gardens, Coffin (15) imagines a 16th-century visitor entering the lower gate: "[A]s he begins to experience the gardens in his walk along the axis to the [v]illa, he is constantly diverted by cross-axes revealing the most interesting fountains of the gardens. It is only the continuity of the view of the [v]illa that keeps him on the central axis until he reaches the [garden *allée* of the] Hundred Fountains. At that point, although the visual axis continues to the [v]illa, the physical access does not. Beyond the Hundred Fountains a network of diagonal paths spreads across the upper slope to the level of the Cardinal's Walk, the last crosswalk below the terrace of the [v]illa. However, to reach this terrace one has to leave the main axis again and mount either of the two stairs to the terrace, where the four stairs to the portico of the [v]illa finally lead back to the central axis under the loggia of the portico at the entrance to the ground floor of the [v]illa itself. His [the observer's] experience of the gardens becomes a much more subjective one of continuous exploration and surprise, unified by the constantly varying sounds of water."



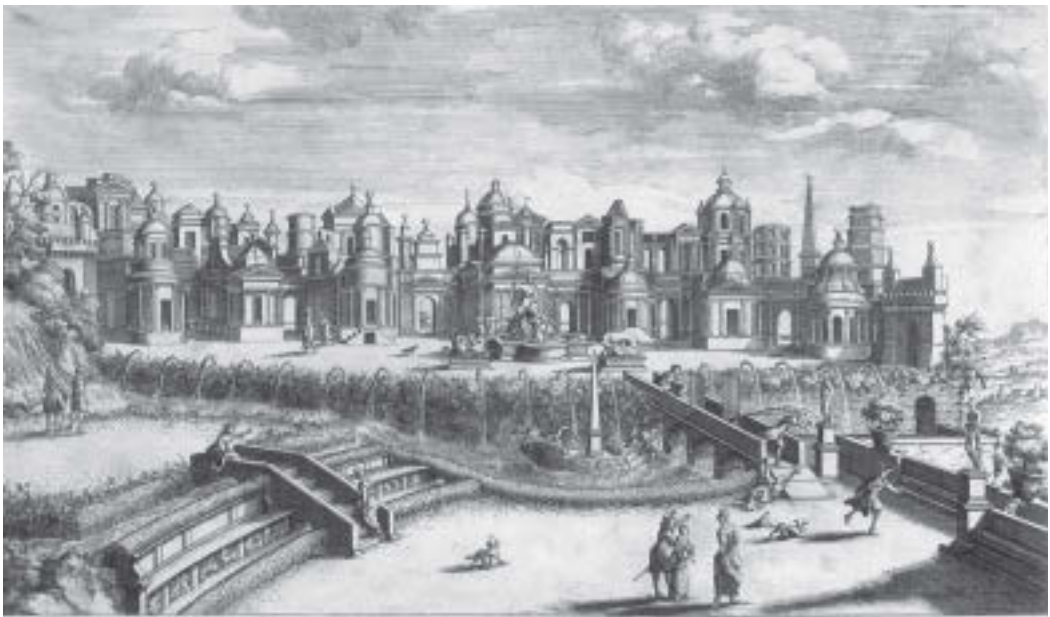
3. *Central axis of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, from Giovanni Battista Falda, Le Fontane di Roma nelle piazze . . . (Rome, 1675–1691), pl. 3*

would have quickly recognized the importance of the central axis from the entrance to the main entrance of the villa and yet would have been led into all sorts of exploration and surprise, inviting a subjective response to the garden, and eventually a reflection upon the meanings of its iconography. Relying heavily upon a Parisian manuscript that has preserved the intended layout and on his study of the interior fresco decoration of the villa, Coffin showed that these gardens had been dedicated to Hercules and were centrally concerned with the contrasting themes of virtue and vice. Walking up the central axis from the entrance, visitors came to the Fountain of the Dragons, which “represents the famous Dragon [that] guarded the Garden of the Hesperides” (Fig. 4).⁷ They would have seen in the grotto behind the fountain a “Hercules of colossal form with his club in hand.” Moreover, when arriving at the top of the horseshoe stairway around the Fountain of the Dragons, they would have seen two more statues representing Hercules at the axis in front of them. Visitors might then have felt invited to ponder his ubiquitous presence. The path along the axis, however, was interrupted at that point by a triple canal with one hundred fountains spurting above terra-cotta plaques illustrating Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. This diverted their path and possibly their attention as well. Therefore, they had to choose between right or left. The left was far more alluring, with the oval fountain in full view. This would lead them into the grotto of

⁷ Ibid., 80; originally from a Parisian manuscript.



4. *Villa d'Este: Fountain of the Dragons, 17th-century Venturini engraving, Tivoli (from Falda, Le Fontane)*



5. *Villa d'Este: Fountain of Little Rome, 17th-century engraving, Tivoli (from Falda, Le Fontane)*

Venus dedicated to “voluptuous” pleasure and presenting a statue of Venus stepping out of her bath surrounded by cupids. Had they chosen to go right toward the Fountain of Little Rome (Fig. 5) and followed the steep stairways leading from there to the cardinal’s terrace, they would have discovered a grotto dedicated to Diana beneath the summer dining loggia attached to the west side of the villa. In this grotto “dedicated to [v]irtuous [p]leasure and [c]hastity [they] would have found two fountains, one dedicated to Diana, goddess of [c]hastity and the other to the youthful chaste Hippolytus.”⁸ Therefore, Coffin suggested,

[T]he gardens also present the theme of the choice of Hercules between Voluptas, represented by the Grotto of Venus, and Virtue, exemplified by the Grotto of Diana. It is possible even that the general layout of the gardens may have been conditioned by this subject. Hercules’ choice was symbolized by the Pythagorean Y, since, after pursuing a straight uneventful path of life, a youth when he came of age had to choose between the diverging paths of Virtue or Vice as Hercules did.⁹

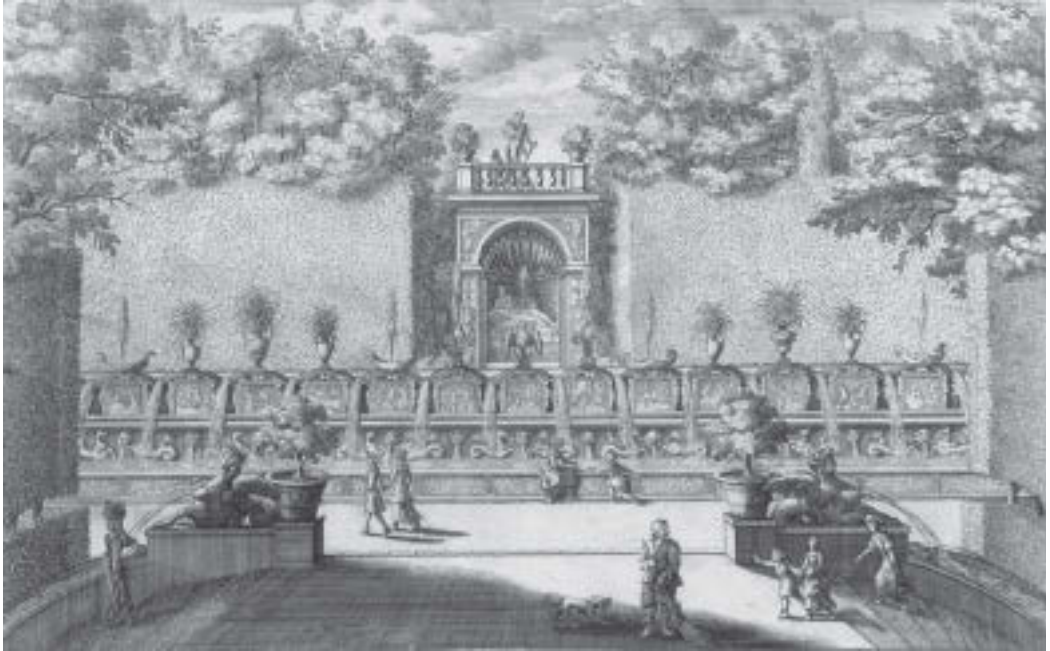
After straying to the left at the garden *allée* of the Hundred Fountains (Fig. 6), many visitors likely headed to the grotto dedicated to “voluptuous” pleasure and wondered at the propriety of such a dedication in a cardinal’s garden; then they got lost in the paths criss-crossing the hill toward the cardinal’s terrace and eventually discovered the grotto dedicated to “virtuous” pleasure and chastity. Only through an effort of memory based on their knowledge of the fable and the path they had followed, would they come to realize that they had faced the same choice as Hercules, a well-known literary *topos* since the early Renaissance.¹⁰ Unlike “virtuous” Hercules and Cardinal Hyppolite II however, the garden visitors had chosen “voluptuous” pleasure instead.

Thus the garden’s design introduced an important device: a Y fork with strong visual appeal to the left, which led many visitors to a choice and made them engage unwittingly in a performance of a well-known fable. Their own motion through the garden, whatever their intentions during their visit, paralleled Hercules’ ancient choice between virtue and vice, which anticipated the cardinal’s. It reveals a poetic meaning expressed in the garden by a metaphorical figure of garden design. It was certainly intended at Villa d’Este to imply that the cardinal had chosen the virtuous path in his youth and hence would reach heaven. The garden was designed so that moving through it invited visitors’ attention to the narrative of the garden *patron*’s life. The enigmas that visitors faced as they tried to make sense of their discoveries as they moved along might have led them to conclude that Hippolyte II was like Hercules and that the garden made tangible a metaphor: Hercules, unlike ordinary mortals, chose virtue and chastity, which led him toward immortality.

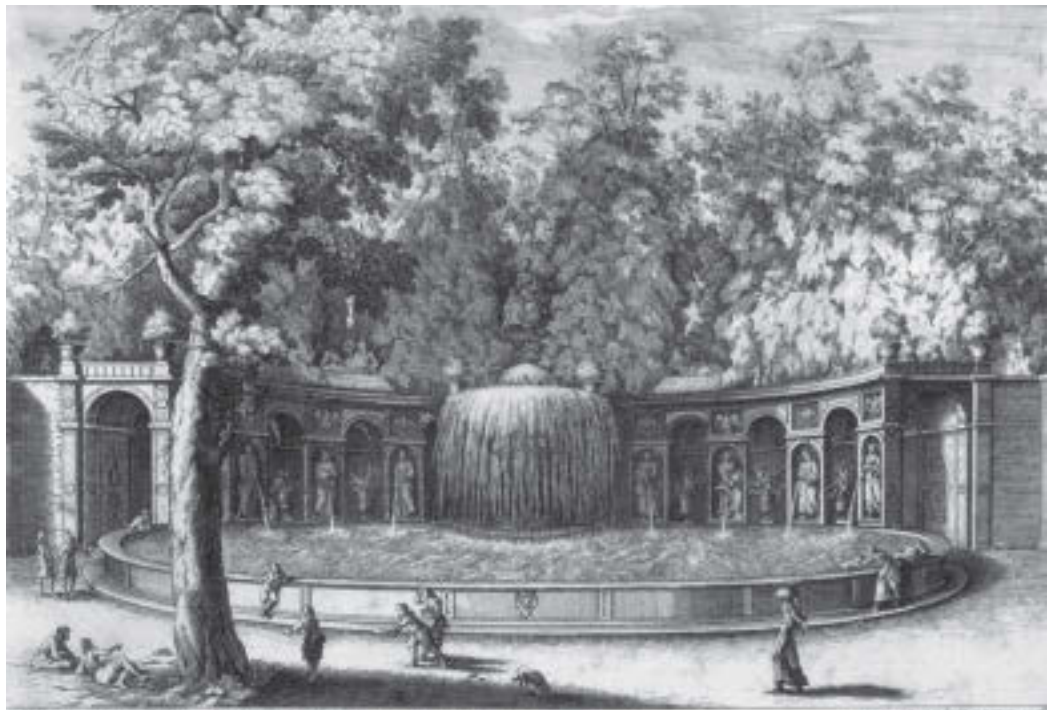
⁸ Ibid., 82.

⁹ Ibid., 83.

¹⁰ The *topos* of the choice between vice and virtue has been studied by Erwin Panofsky: see Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1930). This fable was meant to teach young men to be conscious of the choices they make as adults, but there are no grounds to assume that it was used to invite visitors to reflect upon their own conduct at the Villa d’Este.

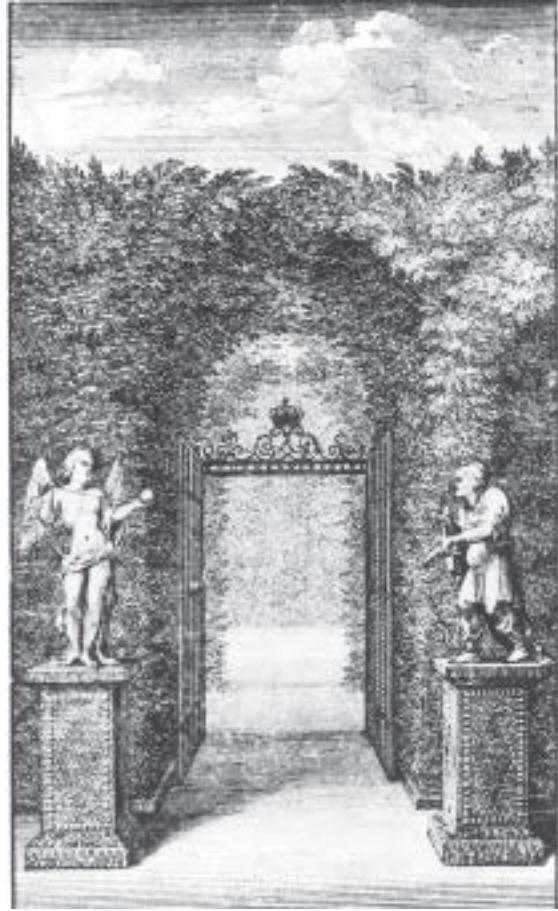


6. *Villa d'Este: T on the allée of the Hundred Fountains, 17th-century engraving, Tivoli (from Falda, Le Fontane)*



7. *Villa d'Este: Grotto of the Tiburtina Fountain, 17th-century engraving, Tivoli (from Falda, Le Fontane)*

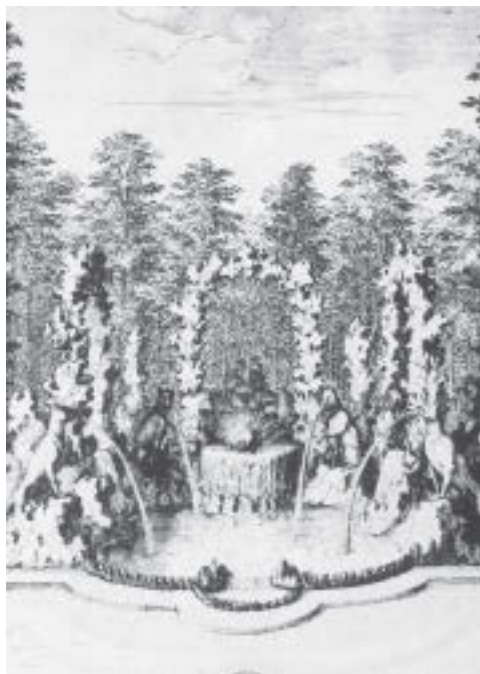
8. *Sebastien Le Clerc, engraving of the dialogue between Cupid and Aesop at the entrance to the Labyrinth, Versailles, France (from Charles Perrault, Le Labyrinthe de Versailles, avec des gravures de Sebastien Le Clerc, 1677; repr. with postface by M. Conan [Paris: Le Moniteur, 1982], pl. 1)*



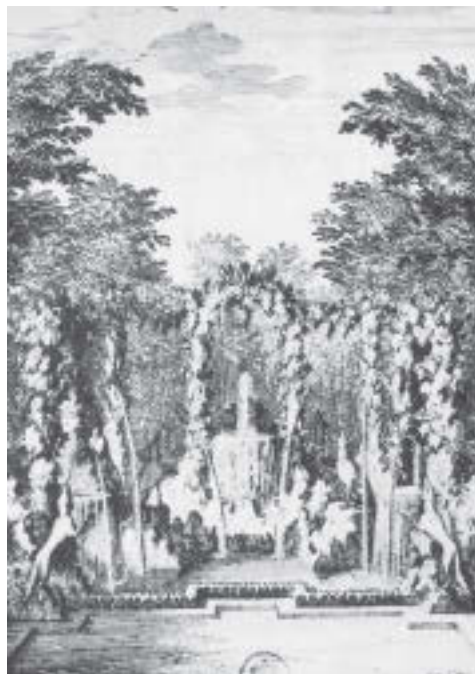
The Labyrinth at Versailles

A century later, André Le Nôtre introduced a similar device into the design of the Labyrinth at Versailles. Instead of leading visitors *toward* a discovery of the virtues of the garden's patron, the Labyrinth encouraged self-reflection and a search for a personal code of conduct. Its design invited all visitors to give first-person attention to their motions. A statue representing Aesop at the entrance advised that unless they pondered their choices they might fail to find their way through the Labyrinth (Fig. 8).¹¹ Upon entering, visitors easily found an axis around which many fountains, with themes based on various Aesop's fables, were organized. Then, in the middle of the garden, as at the Villa d'Este, the axis was interrupted by a long transversal *allée* with similar fountains at either end; the one to the

¹¹ Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe de Versailles, avec des gravures de Sebastien Le Clerc*, 1677, fac. repr. with my postface (Paris: Le Moniteur, 1982). See (Fig. 8) the dialogue between Cupid and Aesop at the entrance to the Labyrinth: Cupid holding a ball in his hand (1): "Yes, I can from now on close my eyes and laugh, with this ball of thread I can easily behave myself." Aesop: "Cupid, this weak thread could well mislead you; it might break at the least shock."



9. *Le Clerc*, The Wolf and the Porcupine, engraving, in Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe*, pl. 57



10. *Le Clerc*, The Fox and the Grapes, engraving, in Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe*, pl. 61

right represented “The Wolf and the Porcupine”¹² and the one to the left, “The Fox and the Grapes”¹³ (Figs. 9, 10). When hesitating between right or left, visitors faced still a third fountain, one representing “The Eagle, the Rabbit, and the Beetle”¹⁴ (Fig. 11). This is a fable about the choice between virtue and greed.

Visitors were, however, distracted from contemplation of this fountain by the presence of still another, even closer one on their left: “The Monkey and the Cat”¹⁵ (Fig. 12).

¹² Fable XXX, “Le Loup et le porc-épic”: “Un loup vouloit persuader à un Porc-Epic de se défaire de ses piquans, et qu’il en seroit bien plus beau. Je le croy, dit le Porc-Epic; mais ces piquans servent à me deffendre.” (“The Wolf and the Porcupine”: “A wolf wanted to persuade a porcupine to do away with its prickles, claiming that he would be more beautiful. Yes, said the Porcupine, but these prickles help me defend myself.”)

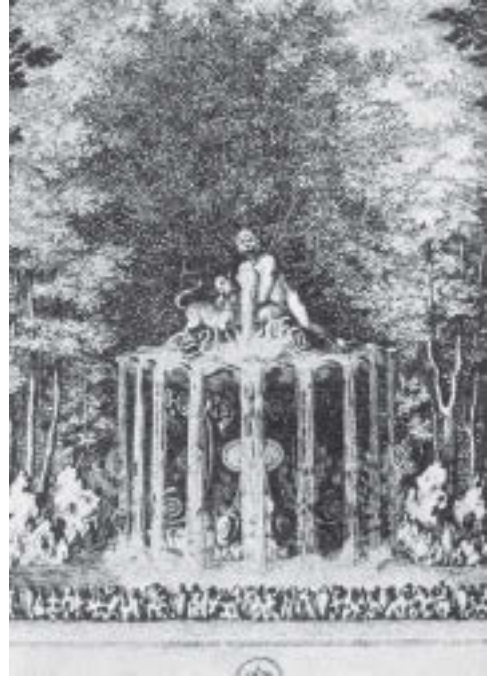
¹³ Fable XXVIII, “Le Renard et les raisins”: “Un Renard ne pouvant atteindre aux Raisins d’une treille, dît qu’ils n’étoient pas meûrs, et qu’il n’en vouloit point.” (“The Fox and the Grapes”: “The fox, who could not reach the grapes on a trellis, said that they were not ripe and that he did not want them.”)

¹⁴ Fable XXIX, “L’Aigle, le lapin et l’escarbot”: “L’Aigle poursuivant un lapin, fut prié par un Escarbot de luy donner la vie. Elle n’en voulut rien faire, et mangea le lapin. L’Escarbot par vengeance cassa deux années de suite les oeufs de l’Aigle, qui enfin alla pondre sur la robe de Jupiter. L’Escarbot y fit tomber son ordure. Jupiter voulant la secouer jetta les oeufs de l’Aigle et les cassa.” (“The Eagle, the Rabbit, and the Beetle”: “An eagle was chasing a rabbit, but a beetle begged her to let him go. The eagle refused and then ate the rabbit. For two consecutive years, the vengeful beetle broke the eagle’s eggs. At last, the eagle went to lay her eggs on Jupiter’s gown, but the beetle dropped its feces on it. While shaking the feces off, Jupiter threw the eagle’s eggs off his lap and broke them.”)

¹⁵ Fable XXVII, “Le Singe et le Chat”: “Le Singe voulant manger des marons qui estoient dans le feu, se



11. *Le Clerc*, The Eagle, the Rabbit, and the Beetle, engraving, in Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe*, pl. 59



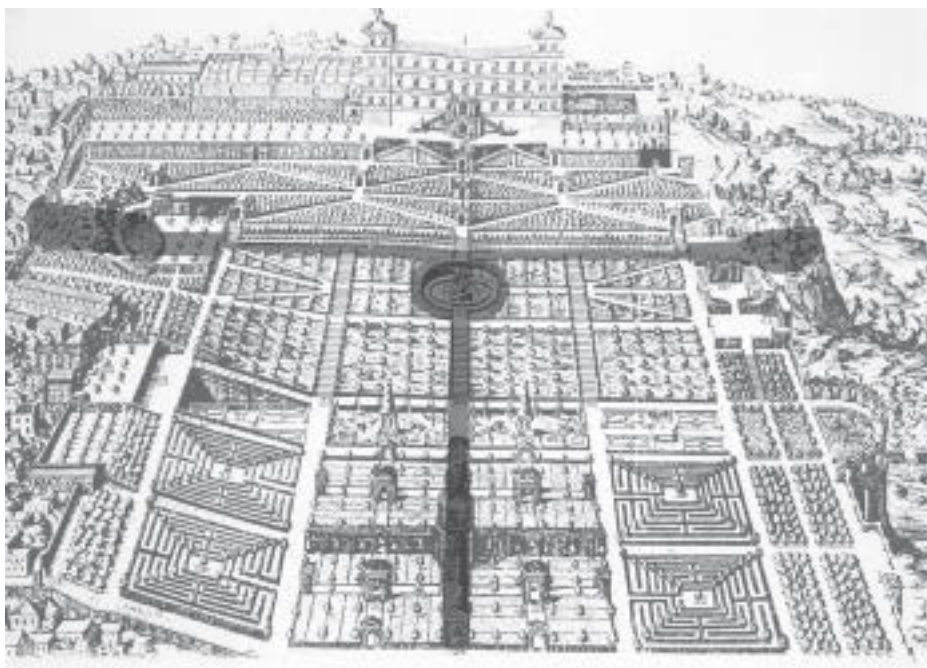
12. *Le Clerc*, The Monkey and the Cat, engraving in Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe*, pl. 55

This fountain stood in front of an *allée* and was easily mistaken as the pursuit of the axis. So again, the fountain to the left was more alluring. The *allée* in front of “The Monkey and the Cat” led to a fountain where “The Monkey Made into a King” was represented.¹⁶ This fable mocks the self-satisfied who fail to reflect upon their actions. After that, the path led visitors back to the entrance, where they could meditate upon their experience.

Thus, there are important similarities between design devices and visitors’ experiences at both Tivoli and Versailles; visitors were drawn along a path that led to a fork that demanded a choice of direction (Figs. 13, 14). They were lured to the left and depended upon a mental reconstruction of their path and scenes observed along the way in order to figure out the significance attached to their choices. The discoveries of allegorical scenes, which they made *after* the site of their decision-making was passed, were instrumental in helping them reflect upon their choice and discover clues that enabled them to reconstruct

servit de la patte du Chat pour les tirer.” (“The Monkey and the Cat”: “The monkey, who wanted to eat some chestnuts that were roasting, used a cat’s paw to draw them out of the fire.”)

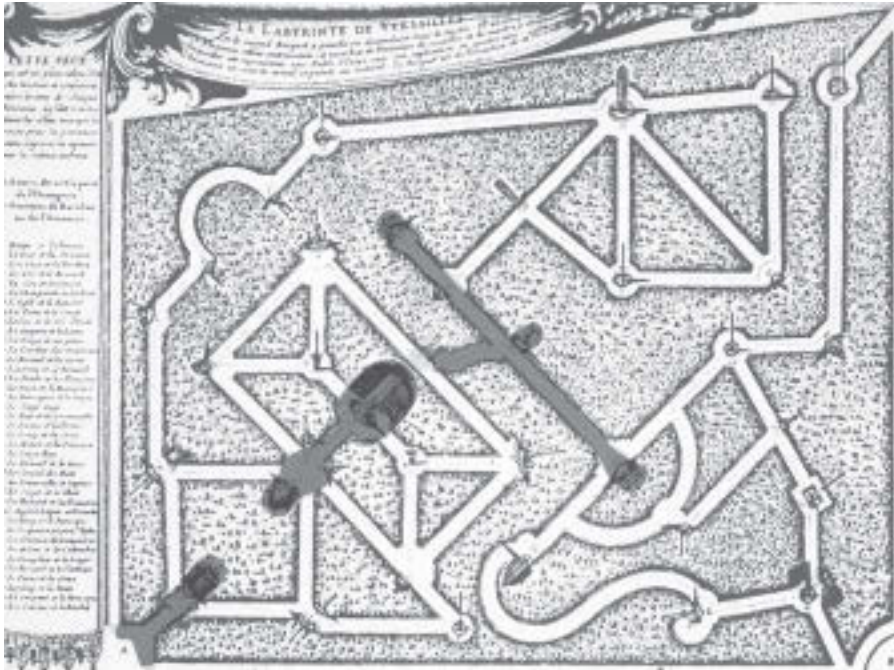
¹⁶ Fable XXIII, “Le Singe Roy”: “Le Singe fut fait Roy des autres Animaux, parce que devant eux il faisoit mille sauts: Il donna dans le piège ainsi qu’une autre Beste, et le Renard luy dit, Sire, il faut de la teste.” (“The Monkey Made into a King”: “The monkey became king of all the animals because he did a thousand somersaults in front of them, but he fell into a trap, as any other animal would; so the fox said, ‘Your Honor, one should not charge without thinking.’”)



13. Plan of Villa d'Este, Tivoli, 17th-century engraving; with T, as enhanced by M. Conan

the metaphorical meaning attached to their decision. It is important to insist on this dependence upon memory for the device to become effective. An aesthetic appreciation of motion through the garden can only be achieved if this experience is reflected upon in terms of a poetic image. The image considered at the moment of choice implies *no* motion, but rather a moment of philosophical interrogation. Certainly this interrogation is part of a history that implies all sorts of actions and motions *before and after* the moment of choice, but the allegory of choice between virtue and vice is atemporal. The aesthetic appreciation of the visitors' motion derives from the reconstruction of their motion through the garden and their encounters with other images or allegories that enabled them to see their motion as a *metaphor* for the cardinal's life at the Villa d'Este or their own conduct in the Labyrinth. The design difference between attending to the patron's or visitors' motion is paramount. The reconstruction of motion through the garden allowed visitors to see the meaning of their own agency transported to higher *philosophical* ground.

Thus through the design of a path that forces a choice and leads to a series of correlated allegorical images, illustrating opposite consequences of a moral choice and representing a subject engaged in choice, behavior takes on *metaphorical* meaning. Hence this design device is a metaphorical figure in garden art and the examples drawn from the Villa d'Este and the Labyrinth are examples of landscape metaphors of moral choice directed at either the garden patron or garden visitors. Are there other kinds of landscape metaphors that demand that we become more precise in the use of language and vocabulary that seem to reduce garden art criticism to the field of literary criticism? That is, should we adopt language criticism as a model in order to move beyond picturesque aesthetics?



14. Plan of the Labyrinth, Versailles (from Perrault, *Le Labyrinthe*); with T, as enhanced by M. Conan

What Is a Landscape Metaphor?

Metaphor has usually been studied as a feature of language, and, following Aristotle, it has been understood as a figure of language that belongs to rhetoric and poetry. Thus it may seem odd to speak of a “landscape metaphor” without further explanation, as if whatever applies to language applies also to the landscape. For example, to say that a baroque design emulating Versailles provides a metaphor for tyrannical stewardship of nature illustrates this assimilation but does not warrant its validity. To the contrary, any effort toward a critical understanding of landscape architecture should take into account fundamental differences between language and landscape as cultural modes of communication. Language relies mostly upon systems of signs carrying well-defined meanings and unfolding into sentences in linear discourse; landscape architecture relies mostly on mutually embedded figures displayed in space and allowing their discovery according to many possible orderings.

Yet these two modes of cultural expression are not completely opposed. Signs can be assembled to form figures of language, and figures may be displayed in space so that they may be discovered in linear fashion. In specific circumstances similar questions can be raised about landscape and language. Metaphor provides a good example. Aristotle defined metaphor as a figure of language in terms of motion, as an *epiphora*, a displacement from something to something *else*. A metaphor is a displacement of the meaning of a word toward a new meaning, an *epiphora* of meaning. Paul Ricoeur notes the metaphorical nature of *epiphora* as used by Aristotle to define the metaphor, since *phora* means a displacement in *space*, not *meaning*. This seemingly circular definition would be meaningless if motion

in space was not already culturally meaningful, so the construction of figures in language borrows from cultural experiences of space in order to elaborate new conditions for the development of language in poetry and rhetoric. The circle is productive. This is not to argue for a priority of spatial experience as a source of meaning in social activities over language. This would be a parody of linguistic imperialism and would be immediately deconstructed, since it is not possible to communicate about spatial experiences without language. It points rather to the dialectical nature of relationships between experiences of space and language and to processes of mutual borrowing and displacement between practices of space and language that contribute to cultural construction.

Metaphors are always productive. It takes two ideas to create a metaphor, and in order to modify a single name the metaphor must disallow the order that maintains these ideas as different. In so doing, it introduces a new order allowing a new description of the world to surface, contributing to the construction of new cultural categories.¹⁷ In discourse, metaphors seek to bring to mind something new by uniting two things that seem distant; they render abstract ideas visible by conjuring up visual images.

Landscape design might be expected to bring to mind something new by composing landscape figures in such a way that they stimulate two seemingly unrelated ideas and create a resemblance between them. Yet such a definition of the landscape metaphor proceeds from a displacement of some properties of figures of language into the domain of landscape design. It fails to clarify the dialectical leap that makes a landscape metaphor into something different from a metaphor in discourse or poetry. A better definition is required.

In the gardens discussed here, visitors' attention, which was originally centered on scenes unfolding before them, is diverted at a random point to consideration of their own motion through the garden. An effort of memory leads them to an *epiphora* of their motion into a narrative centered upon two sets of meanings involved in a situation of choice: the first attached to their own experience of the garden and the second to an unrelated narrative. Each visitor (a) constructs a personal narrative, since different routes are possible; (b) becomes aware of possible meanings of the experience proposed by the visit at different moments; and (c) reaches different interpretations before the whole of their motions start to make sense. Also, aporetic attempts cannot be ignored, as visitors may only piece their experience together afterward, with help from someone else, as, for example, by reading a garden history tract.

How then do some people achieve this personal narrative? Coeval visitors would have all shared the same horizons that are proposed by the garden layout and iconography when

¹⁷ Consider an example of the contribution of metaphors to the construction of culture. It is possible to trace the French word *paysage* from Madeleine de Scudéry's time around the 1660s to that of René Louis Gérardin a century later: In the early 17th century, *paysage* was a minor category of painting showing pleasant scenery with little moral or educational value; then it came to describe views of the countryside that afforded idle pleasures in Scudéry's writings; then this experience became a metaphor for the contemplation of natural order in the 18th century; finally, it gave rise to an art of spatial design meant to make gardens into metaphors of a society predicated upon the order of nature, as in Gérardin's gardens at Ermenonville.

making sense of the memories of their visit. These horizons differ at the Villa d'Este and in the Labyrinth. Villa d'Este iconography at the main axis invites a parallel between Hercules and the cardinal; the images of Hercules' choice and of Venus and Diana conjure up the horizon of mythical times. The Labyrinth entrance invites a parallel between Cupid and garden visitors. Aesop's fables represented in its fountains conjure up the horizon of fictional time. Thus the consideration of visitors' motion through the garden transfers these wanderings into a totally different temporality and a different subjective position. Villa d'Este visitors may have begun to think of their motion on the horizon of mythical times as a reflection upon the cardinal's choices; in the Labyrinth visitors may have begun to think of their motion on the horizon of an imaginary time as a reflection upon their own free will.

This transformation of the visitor point of view sheds light on an idiosyncrasy of garden experience. Far from being distanced observers of art in Kantian fashion, visitors make sense of a "garden world" through an examination of their own engagement with it. The narrative that sheds light upon the sense of the garden revealed by their own motion through it engages them as moral actors who take responsibility for their choices: at the Villa d'Este, *their* bodies moved right or left, suffered from the heat, or shared in the voluptuous pleasures of the grotto of Venus. In the Labyrinth, visitors were engaged in similar experiences and had to reflect about reliance upon their own intuitive judgments that made them into the foolish heroes of a narrative they had been led to construct out of their own garden visit. Because they had to move through the garden and reflect upon their memory of their motion, the choice of a landscape figure that imbued their own physical movement with meaning derived from another narrative made them *part* of the metaphor.

Thus a landscape metaphor comes into existence when motion through a landscape invites an interpretation by its visitors that *displaces* the meaning of their own motion in favor of a *new* meaning. Owen Barfield describes metaphors as "a deliberate yoking of unlikes by an individual artificer."¹⁸ Someone who creates a language metaphor thus takes responsibility for the hitherto unrelated ideas that are brought together, as in the following verse by poet John Keats:

When by my solitary hearth I sit
And hateful thoughts enwrap my soul in gloom.¹⁹

Here the meaning of *enwrap* links *gloom* to the idea of a cloak, thus allowing a resemblance between them. This is not so with the landscape metaphor because its meaning for each visitor results from an interpretation of relationships between the cultural meaning of the narrative incorporated in the landscape by its designer and the meaning of the narrative of

¹⁸ Barfield, *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning* (London: Faber and Gwyne, 1928), quoted in Ricoeur, *La Métaphore vive* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), 6th study, "Le Travail de la ressemblance" 271.

¹⁹ "To Hope," in Keats, *Poems* (1817); quoted in Ricoeur, *La Métaphore*, 240.

their own motion through this landscape by the visitors. The metaphorical meaning does not result from the yoking of “unlikes” by the designer but from the intersubjectivity²⁰ between designer and visitors brought into existence by the motion through the landscape. When aesthetic reflection is applied to motion through a landscape metaphor, the intuitive evidence of time passing according to the rhythms of visitors’ daily life no longer prevails. It is replaced by the horizon of a new temporality that frames an action in which they are implied as morally responsible characters. Their sense of time and self-identity are transformed. According to a landscape metaphor, daydreaming at a remote distance in front of picturesque scenery reveals the capacity of the design of a garden to engage visitors as self-conscious actors in an ontological experience: a transformation of self, a metamorphosis. This analysis of two landscape metaphors does not challenge the duality of subject and object entertained by visitors; it does not reduce the understanding of their motion to a displacement in time. To the contrary, motion belongs to the world of visitors’ personal experience, and it comprises both a memory of their displacement as an object in the garden and a transformation of self, a shift in vital perspectives.

Narrativity and the Experience of Motion through a Landscape

Hence spatial design acquires a magical power when the experience of moving through the material world of the garden in present time transports visitors into the different world and temporality of a narrative. Up to this point, I have focused upon garden metaphors that were meant to represent abstract ideas, such as the commitment to virtuous pleasures and chastity by Cardinal Hippolyte II or the search for a personal code of conduct by visitors to the Labyrinth. Aristotle discussed metaphors as figures common to poetry and rhetoric. In a poetical mode they were conceived as figures bringing to mind a resemblance to a phenomenon they described, whereas in a rhetorical mode they are meant to persuade listeners of the value of an assertion. Could similar distinctions apply to landscape metaphors?

²⁰ Phenomenology takes individual consciousness as the source of our knowledge of the world and our capacity to attribute meaning. It is faced, however, with difficult issues when attempting to account either for the capacity of different individuals to communicate their personal experiences of the world or for the capacity to know one another. Thus the efforts of major phenomenologists such as Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, or Schutz to provide a basis for a renewed construction of the social sciences has led to special attention to intersubjectivity; that is, to the irreducible world of meanings shared by all individual human subjects. Merleau-Ponty’s theory of perception develops the idea that individuals are immersed in an intersubjective way of seeing so “there is no problem of the *alter ego* because it is not *I* who sees, not *he* who sees, because an anonymous visibility inhabits both of us, a vision in general.” See Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible* (Evanston, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 142. Another approach has been adopted by sociologists following George Herbert Mead; they have taken interactions between people as the source of the construction of all aspects of shared meaning in society and see individual subjectivity as a consequence of intersubjectivity, understood then as a world of intersubjective practices. See Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). For a general presentation of studies of intersubjectivity, see Nick Crossley, *Intersubjectivity: The Fabric of Social Becoming* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1996).

The Passion of Christ: A Journey through Europe

The construction in Europe of pilgrimage sites that called to mind the Passion of Christ offers a telling example of paths that command the motions of visitors in such a way that they give reality to and strengthen the credibility of a biblical narrative well known by all visitors. This trend started in the middle of the fifteenth century, probably in Germany: Lübeck in 1467, Dusenbach in Alsace in 1468, Höchstädt in 1470, Nördlingen in 1474, and Berlin in 1484. The model gained greater popularity and was disseminated in Europe after the construction of the *sacro monte* of Varallo, Sesia (Como), Italy, and the Jerusalem of San Vivaldo in Valdelsa, Italy, in 1486, by the Franciscan Bernardino Caimi.²¹ The Varallo model was then imitated in the north of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Latin America (Fig. 15).²²

The invention of a real space where Christians in groups could follow the unfolding of the Passion of Christ by treading a path leading from one memorial site to another was inspired by (a) the traditional pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which Christians walked in the footsteps of their savior and meditated where he had stopped on his way to Calvary; (b) the representation of the Passion in mysteries reenacted in front of churches in medieval cities;²³ and (c) the widespread display of church art depicting the Stations of the Cross.²⁴ The landscape figure of the *sacro monte* merges these three traditions in a way that allowed pilgrimages to achieve verisimilitude with the biblical narrative though they took place far from the Holy Land where the events had occurred.

The spatial gestalt of a *sacro monte* assumes the form of a path from the floor of a valley via a steep hill; the path features Stations of the Cross such as the jail, the *praetorium*, Pontius Pilate's palace, the Holy Sepulcher, the Via Sacra, and the ascent to Calvary, all scenes of the Passion of Christ. *Sacri monti* did not demand rigidity as to which Stations of the Cross to represent. Rather, they reproduced actual distances between the Holy Land sites by using measurements provided by pilgrims to the Holy Land. Some cities even sent individuals to Jerusalem to check the number of paces between sites before building a *sacro monte*. Overall, their designers strove to emulate the ascent to Calvary. Yet it is the synaesthetic experience of the painful experience of Christ's ascent, as any of his followers might have experienced

²¹ S. Stefani Perrone, "L'urbanistica del *sacro monte* e l'Alessi," in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del cinquecento, Atti dell'omonimo convegno internazionale di studi, Genova, 16–20 aprile 1974* (Genoa, 1975), 305. Even though it was not the first *sacro monte* in Italy, it is considered the most influential for later developments. This question was discussed at the first colloquium on *sacri monti* at Varallo in 1980.

²² Bom Jesus do Monte (Fig. 15) is of special interest, because of its theatrical design, among the many 17th- and 18th-century gardens that offered a vicarious pilgrimage experience. Near the monastery of Braga, Portugal, it was built between 1784 and 1811 by Carlos Luis Ferreira Amarante for Archbishop Rodrigo de Moura Teles. See Germain Bazin, *Paradiseis: The Art of the Garden* (London: Cassell, 1991), 190–91.

²³ Paola Ventone, "I sacri monti: Un esempio di teatro 'pietrificato'?" in *La Gerusalemme di San Vivaldo e i sacri monti di Europa*, ed. Sergio Gensini, Comune di Montaione (Pisa: Pacini, 1989), 145–62.

²⁴ Cf. Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, "Il 'monte sacro' dei filosofi e la pratica del 'pellegrinaggio della conoscenza,'" in *La Gerusalemme*, 110.

it, rather than any visual experience that provided the verisimilitude of the experience of taking part in a procession to the *sacro monte* and being a member of the group that walked up to Calvary. Such resemblance does not belong with a picturesque aesthetic. The stress put upon an exacting representation of the number of steps taken by Christ introduces a parallel between the painful hours passed walking and standing among the sorrowful and repenting crowds of pilgrims who followed the procession to the *sacro monte* and the anxiety-ridden hours of the Passion. It adds a final twist to the resemblance of the two events. The *Passion resembled the procession* as well as it can be said that *the procession resembled the Passion* because the coincidence of the timing of the two events allowed a fusion of the horizons of the temporality of daily life and biblical narrative.

This ontological transformation of time allowed visitors to become persuaded of the authenticity of the biblical narrative, since they had lived through its sufferings. It allowed every pilgrim to share in the sorrows of all Christians, to repent, and to hope for redemption. Alentonio Bonet Correa, in an evocative description of Varallo, writes:

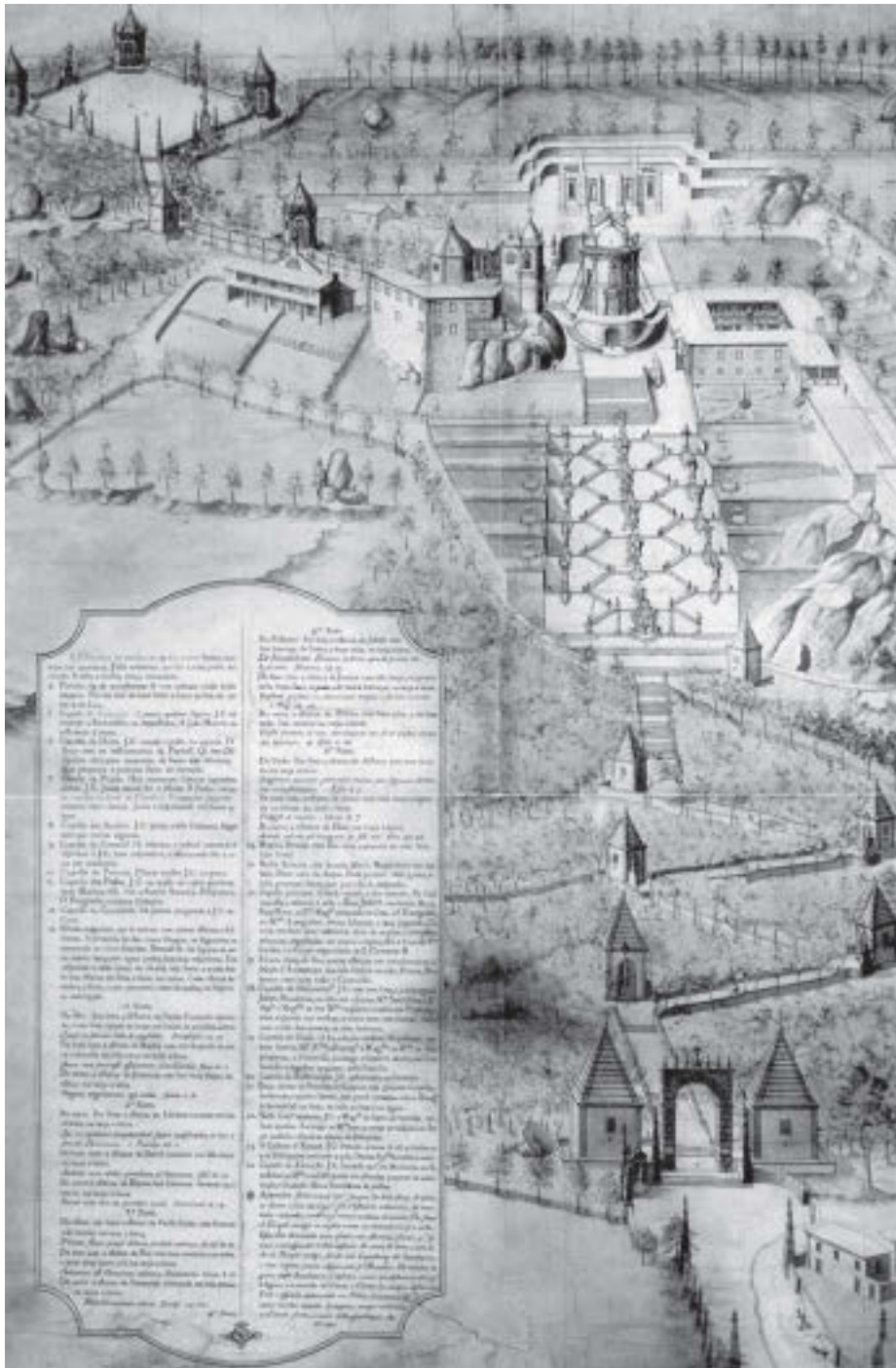
From a distance, Varallo conjures up images of Golgotha. Believers feel immersed in the place and the time of Christ. When passing the threshold at the foot of the hill, they leave behind them the everyday world and engage in a purificatory ascent.²⁵

The ascent suggests the metamorphosis of an assemblage of mere pilgrims into believers who dwell in the city of God, celestial Jerusalem, as they penetrate the sanctuary at the heart of the *sacro monte*. Such an experience of the landscape cannot be achieved unless the visitors, amidst a throng of like-minded fellows, are attuned to a particular religious culture, its beliefs, and its practices. In turn, this contributes to the development of their faith and strengthens their collective identity.

The French Perspective on Pilgrimage Sites

With the exception of a processional route with thirty-four chapels commemorating the Passion and a Calvary with six chapels erected on a hill outside Romans, which was initiated by a visitor from Freiburg, Germany, in 1514, no similar religious landscape was built in France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This points to cultural differences that deserve further research. Interestingly, after the French Protectorate over the Holy Land was established in 1843, French religious missions proliferated there, and a “pilgrimage of penance” was inaugurated in 1884 under the Third Republic, allowing “people sharing a nostalgia for a French Christian [m]onarchy to fetch from the [e]astern

²⁵ Bonet Correa, “Sacro monte y Calvarios en España, Portugal y America Latina,” in *La Gerusalemme*, 178: “Desde lejos, Varallo evoca el monte del Golgota. Decerca el devoto se siente immerso en el lugar y el tiempo de Cristo. Al atravesar el umbral, al pie de la colina, deja atrás su mundo diario y emprende la ascension purificadora.”



15. Braga, Portugal: General perspective of the sanctuary of Bom Jesus del Monte, drawing, 1789, in the archives of the Confraternity of the Bom Jesus (from Marcello Faggiolo and Maria Adriana Giusti, *Lo specchio del paradiso. Il giardino e il sacro dall'antico all'ottocento* [Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1998], fig. 20)

world of the Crusades memories of conquests in the name of the sword and the cross.”²⁶ This social movement stimulated the creation of many *sacri monti* throughout France: Rocamadour in 1887, Mauriac in 1897, Pontchâteau between 1891 and 1899, and others close to large church complexes created in the nineteenth century, which had begun to attract their own pilgrimages. These included Lourdes, Ars, Lisieux, Domrémy, Mont Saint Odile, Montmartre, and Sainte Baume.

A new religious culture with new political overtones infused the old landscape figure of the *sacro monte* with a new rhetorical vigor. Again, pilgrims visiting these places could live their ascent to Calvary as a metaphor of both the “pilgrimage of penance” and the Passion and then experience their own epiphany. Thus this landscape metaphor contributed to the development of new cultural forms and political identities.

Landscape Metaphors of Motion

How can landscape achieve this power of transfiguration whenever motion through it represents a metaphor? Are the examples presented here flukes? Why are such ontological effects achieved by the art of landscape design? Is it possible to develop them into new designs achieving new meanings? Below I touch upon these questions.

These landscape figures call upon metaphors of two kinds. The first aimed at leading visitors to discover for themselves an interpretation of the motion through which they had explored the garden in the form of a narrative that they never suspected when entering; the second, to the contrary, assumed perfect knowledge of the narrative to be emulated during the procession and sought rather to prove its verisimilitude with the biblical narrative. In each, the landscape design drew its power from the topicality it bestowed upon a well-known narrative that had personal significance for visitors. Conversely, the narrative acquires topicality only insofar as the landscape design frames the visitors’ movements so that their motions follow the structure of a critical action in the narrative. A structural rather than picturesque resemblance between the designed path of motion and the development of the narrative seems to be a condition for the efficacy of this kind of design device. Memory plays a fundamental role in the construction of a sense of the experience in the garden or landscape. The landscape metaphor of Hercules’ choice at the Villa d’Este demands that visitors recall their walk and confront it with the course of their own lives or the cardinal’s in order to discover a parallel between the garden structure and a narrative about moral responsibility. On the other hand, pilgrims at a *sacro monte* already *know* the narrative and the memory of its tragic end fills them with sorrow from the beginning, however sunny the day or bright the processional banners.

Despite these differences, the motion through the landscape makes sense when it is perceived against the background of the narrative as a whole. Under these conditions visitors experience the fusion of the horizons of temporality of their daily life and the narrative. To make sense of this fusion, Ricoeur’s analysis is helpful. He proposes:

²⁶ Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, “Les Chapelles de la mémoire,” in *La Gerusalemme*, 228.

Time becomes human time insofar as it is articulated in narrative fashion, and a narrative achieves its full significance when it becomes a condition for temporal existence.²⁷

According to this perspective, time becomes human through the intertwining of history and fiction. Thus visitors undergo a metamorphosis that results from the intertwining of their history as actors taking responsibility for their own lives, with the fiction that their memories construct or provide them with a meaning attached to their motion through the landscape. This metamorphosis results from information processing triggered by their cultural interpretations of material devices. Through this aesthetic experience, however, the visitors' individual self undergoes a radical transformation. Because they engage the landscape by all their bodily senses, the aesthetic experience of the intertwining of narrative and landscape structures engages them in a process of self-transformation. Landscape design operates within an ontological domain. In an unexpected way, we find here the aesthetic of engagement that is so important for developments of environmental art and contemporary landscape design. Ricoeur's notion of intertwining points to

the fundamental structure through which history and fiction realize their respective intentionality only insofar as they borrow from the other's intentionality.²⁸

The ascent of a hill makes use of the narrative of the Passion in order to reconfigure the time of daily life and modify the horizon of temporality against which it makes sense; conversely, the biblical narrative makes use of the pilgrims' visit to the *sacro monte* in order to reconfigure the mythical time on the horizon of the temporality of daily life. Pilgrims go through a metaphysical experience, and the biblical narrative becomes part of village lore. Villa d'Este's design made use of the intertwining of time and visitors' daily lives with the course of the cardinal's life to represent to the visitors' imagination the cardinal's ideal self; the design of the Labyrinth made use of the intertwining of visitors' daily lives and fictitious time spent in a quest for a code of conduct to introduce visitors to critical self-reflection. Thus the intertwining of the time of daily experience with some other time introduced by the recapitulation of motion through the landscape is central in each design, even though each was put to a different effect. The intertwining of narrative and times from daily life is achieved whenever the visit into the landscape makes use of the narrative to reconfigure time; the narrative likewise makes use of the landscape design. The role of landscape in the development of an interworld, a particular set of human interactions, reveals an interesting

²⁷ Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, vol. 1: *L'Intrigue et le récit historique*, chap. 3, "Temps et récit, la triple mimésis," 105: "Le temps devient temps humain dans la mesure où il est articulé sur un mode narratif, et que le récit atteint sa signification pleine quand il devient une condition de l'existence temporelle."

²⁸ Ibid., vol. 3: *Le Temps raconté*, chap. 5, "L'Entrecroisement de l'histoire et de la fiction," 330: "[L]a structure fondamentale en vertu de laquelle l'histoire et la fiction ne concrétisent chacune leur intentionnalité respective qu'en empruntant à l'intentionnalité de l'autre."



16. *Charles Pecqueur in his workshop, Ruitz, France (from Bernard Lassus, Jardins imaginaires. Les habitants-paysagistes [Paris: Les Presses de la Connaissance, 1977], 189; photo: courtesy of the author)*

aspect of intersubjectivity.²⁹ Motion through a landscape metaphor engages visitors into a hermeneutical activity that reactivates the meaning of a cultural tradition at the same time that it enables them to bring new meaning to their lives. In that respect, intersubjectivity, as mediated by the experience of motion through a landscape metaphor, contributes to the development of the individual and the cultural community to which the individual belongs. Thus more than society, its institutions, and interactions are interworlds in the sense of Merleau-Ponty; we also see landscape as an interworld and the experience of a landscape metaphor as a process of meaning-making that binds cultural and individual development. There is a dual role played by the landscape figure: it enables visitors to imagine that they are enacting a narrative and allows a narrative to achieve visible form through the visitors' actions.

²⁹ The idea of interworlds finds its origin in discussions of intersubjectivity by phenomenologists. Merleau-Ponty, for instance, refuses the dualism of body and mind, of subject and object of perception, and insists instead that all ideas must be embodied on the one hand, and that perceptual consciousness must be understood as a form of mutual engagement between perceiver and the perceived on the other hand. The perceptual world thus is an interworld into which any individual may connect. Language offers another example of an interworld in which all humans are borne and through which they communicate. For Merleau-Ponty, all the cultural systems that allow interactions to take place, such as language, systems of social roles, and institutions—like the family or the church—which frame or pattern these interactions build as many interworlds, or concrete intersubjectivities, where intersubjectivity takes place.

My analysis below of a garden created by a modern French folk artist, Charles Pecqueur, gives insight into the creative potential of such figures.

Poetics of Landscape Metaphors in Folk Garden Art

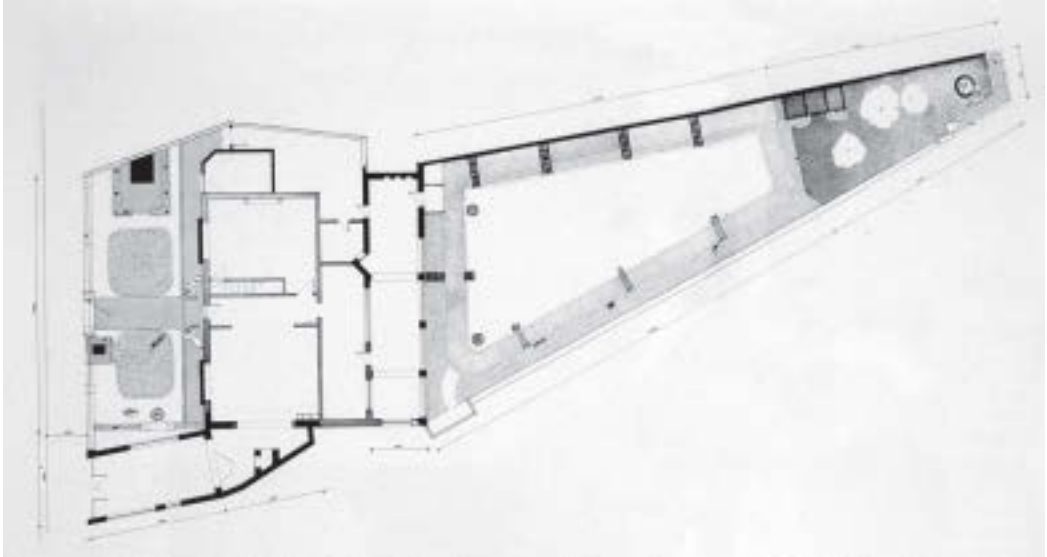
A Creative Life: Charles Pecqueur

Charles Pecqueur was born into a mining family in 1908 at Bruay-en-Artois (Fig. 16). He received little formal education, since the local school building he attended was transformed into a hospital serving nearby battlefields within six months of his entrance at age six. He was already ten when it reopened, and by age thirteen he had left school permanently to work in the coal mine at Ruitz, a mining community in northern France. Pecqueur remained there until retirement age.

He had fond memories of poems and readings from his school years and turned to them as a source for artistic creation so as to engage the aesthetic interest of his fellow villagers. Despite his leadership skills, he never accepted a job promotion because he could not reconcile himself to exercising hierarchic authority in the mining company where he worked. During World War II he entered the Resistance and rose to the rank of lieutenant. After the war, he became mayor of Ruitz for eighteen years. During the war, he had started a theater group to raise money for prisoners of war, and he pursued this activity for seventeen years for the sake of enlivening local cultural life. Many of his actions showed his commitment to his community, for practical, symbolic, or cultural purposes, as well as a strong engagement in favor of creative attitudes. He helped villagers build homes, rehabilitated the local cemetery, created a public monument to a local composer, and even wrote a play for his theater group. He also started a band and for several years held office in his church. He died in the 1990s, but beforehand he had expressed himself in a series of interviews with Bernard Lassus in 1971. In these, he discussed his major work, the Snow White fresco in his own garden (Figs. 17–22).³⁰ It provides a telling example of a creative use of motion predicated upon a landscape metaphor.

Pecqueur developed new techniques whenever he met problems in his creations, engaging in practical experiments in order to create new colors by mixing different pigments, to produce night-lighting effects in the cemetery for Halloween or 11 November celebrations, to build a new structure in masonry or concrete, or to ensure the visual impact of colors in a large painting. His public works were both admired and attacked by the community. For example, one letter to the *sous-préfet* complained:

³⁰ I visited Pecqueur's garden with Bernard Lassus, who took photographs. Although I met Pecqueur, all information relative to his life is derived from transcripts of Lassus's 1971 interviews. However, any misinterpretation of the garden is mine. For Lassus's interpretation of the garden and many photographs of it, see "The Garden Landscape: A Popular Aesthetic," in *The Vernacular Garden*, ed. John Dixon Hunt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 137–60.



17. Plan of Charles Pecqueur's garden, Ruitz, France. The dark line at the top represents the west wall with the *Snow White* fresco (from Lassus, *Jardins imaginaires*, 178–79; photo: courtesy of the author)

The mayor of Ruitz believes he can do anything he pleases. For Halloween and 11 November celebrations he has even lit up the churchyard and our Lord Jesus Christ (on His Cross), so the Dead cannot rest in peace!

Mayors from neighboring villages and mining towns and the public administration were generally supportive, however. Yet despite his allies, he was voted out of office in 1968, and to his chagrin, most of the “controversial” works of art that he had constructed in public spaces were dismantled. This serves as a reminder that folk culture is as much debated among the working-classes as modern art is among the upper classes; we cannot equate folk and class culture or consider folk culture as invariant through time. Pecqueur, in particular, saw himself as a creator and sought by his own works in public spaces to invite his neighbors to become creators in their own right.

The Snow White Fresco

No longer able to create public embellishments, he started work in his own garden, an elongated trapezoid that extended from the back of his house to a narrow opening toward the fields at the opposite side (Fig. 17). A long wall to the west protects it from frequently windy conditions. It comprises a kitchen garden with a path that runs around it and follows alongside the west wall. At the far end, there is a pleasure garden.

It was on the west wall that Pecqueur painted “Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs.” It is a fitting celebration of miners’ lives, and for them and other visitors alike it must bring back fond childhood memories of a favorite nursery tale. After exiting the house, visitors

are welcomed by a lifesize rendering of Snow White curtseying as if welcoming them to *her* garden (Fig. 18). Moving under a rose bower shading the *allée* along the west wall, visitors discover familiar scenes from the pages of the Brothers Grimm that were later animated by Walt Disney for filmgoers: Snow White's stepmother, the dowager queen, holds her prisoner in a dungeon; Snow White finds a new home with the dwarfs; the stepmother goes to the dwarfs' house and convinces Snow White to accept a magic scarf; the dwarfs discover Snow White choked by the scarf; the dwarfs carry her to a coffin. This is what confronts visitors in Pecqueur's folk art-inspired landscape: a bower inhabited by Snow White at the entrance of a residential garden.

Understanding these scenes demands prior knowledge of the fairy tale and an exploration of the fresco, which offers clues. The illustrations do not encompass the complete plot, and this is not a straightforward representation of the narrative. Rather than acknowledge the well-known and child-oriented iconographical content in passing, visitors should focus on its composition in order to discover to which effects it is directed. Though rooted in a common culture, the fresco demands that visitors engage in interpretation, moving bodily as well as mentally into the narrative by first making eye contact with Snow White at the entrance and by the extension of the pictorial space to the bower under which visitors are guided. This extension was obtained by three framing devices: a tile covering atop the wall; trellised arches covered with climbing roses, which links the tiles to the opposite side of the *allée*; and a white rock ledge along the *allée*, which separates it from the kitchen garden beds (Fig. 19).

Thus as they walk, visitors are reminded of the narrative and are brought to share the horizon of the narrator in the same way that a *sacro monte* pilgrim may share the horizon of the Apostles telling of the Passion of Christ. The correlated performance of their own motion in the *allée*—the extended pictorial space of the narrative—and of the unfolding of time on the flat space of the fresco wall enabled visitors to achieve a fusion of the temporal horizon of their everyday life and the temporal horizon of the fable as they walked along the west wall, in the same way that a narrator conflates the present and the mythical times when unfolding a tale.

Pecqueur was not interested, however, in promoting an imaginary identification of visitors with a narrator. He uses the power of a walk across a landscape narrative to conjure up an artistic effect: a walk out of human temporality *into* everlasting time. He aimed at introducing an ontological difference between the kitchen garden and the pleasure garden in which visitors will rest beyond the vicissitudes of time and reach a position from which to look upon the scarred landscape of the mining environment as scenery belonging to an everlasting nature rather than an industrial wasteland.

The fairy tale climaxes when a prince walks by Snow White's glass-covered coffin and finds her lying as if dead though still breathing (Fig. 20). Time is suspended as visitors walk under the bower that forms a lock between the *allée* from the house where the temporal horizon of daily chores is paramount, to the forest where events taking place at different moments are simultaneously present. Thanks to this device, time has stopped and acquired a spatial extension, different from the fresco on the longer part of the west wall, where time



18. Ruitz, France: White flint rocks and rusticated arbors made of concrete and tiles were used as framing devices. Snow White “curtseys” to visitors at the entrance of the allée, Charles Pecqueur’s garden (from Lassus, *Jardins imaginaires*, 168; photo: courtesy of the author).



19. Ruitz, France: Frame separating the allée from the kitchen garden beds (detail), Charles Pecqueur’s garden (from Lassus, *Jardins imaginaires*, 173; photo: courtesy of the author)



20. Ruitz, France: *Snow White discovered in her coffin by the prince*, Charles Pecqueur's garden (from Lassus, *Jardins imaginaires*, 175; photo: courtesy of the author)

follows the staccato rhythm of an animated movie. This is clearly demonstrated by Pecqueur. When walking out of the “time lock” where Snow White lies “betwixt and between” the beat of life and everlasting life, visitors step out into a grove that seems to extend into real space the forest that is represented upon the last stretch of the fresco on the west wall. Surprisingly, they encounter the hunter who had been asked by the dowager queen to take Snow White into the forest to kill her. He is looking at the deer he plans to kill so that he can take its heart and present it in place of Snow White’s to the dowager queen (Fig. 21). There is no doubt that the hunter belongs to the *beginning* of the story, which visitors left behind long before walking across the time lock. On his heels comes the prince’s father. He is searching for his son, who has just discovered Snow White, an event at the *closing moments* of the story.

Thus the forest uses the same device as previous views in the fresco to express the duration of particular scenes in the narrative, but instead of encompassing one single theatrical event, it binds the beginning to the end of the story. The forest plays almost the same role that Sigmund Freud attributed to the unconscious: It denies the passing of time by spatializing it. *The forest is time in a suspended state*. Visitors who have adopted the temporal horizon of the narrative are bound to recognize and experience the suspension of time that prevails beyond the time lock. The pleasure garden is planted with fir trees that extend the pictorial space of the fresco into real space in the same way that the trellised arcades extend the narrative space of the fresco into the *allée*. Thus visitors are made to walk into a space



21. Ruitz, France: A deer with the hunter charged by the dowager queen to kill Snow White; the prince's father on horseback at his heels, Charles Pecqueur's garden (from Lassus, *Jardins imaginaires*, 176; photo: courtesy of the author)



22. Ruitz, France: Snow White gazing into the landscape beyond the garden, Charles Pecqueur's garden (from Lassus, *Jardins imaginaires*, 183; photo: courtesy of the author)

that is pure duration, and they are invited to discover Snow White seated in silent awe at the fields and the industrial landscape in front of her out of the garden that her gaze binds to the pleasure garden, as if it were extending into the world outside the limits of Pecqueur's plot (Fig. 22). It brings into play a second landscape metaphor that displaces the meaning of the industrial landscape of everyday life in Ruitz by "yoking" it to the everlasting time of the forest, where the dwarfs live and mine underground, and to the still time of the forest grove of Pecqueur's garden. As it brings the outside environment into the garden, it invites visitors to discover it as everlasting, inscribing the memory of the miners who have made this industrial landscape through their toil in the everlasting time of the forest. So the introduction of these landscape metaphors has a humanistic edge.

A visit to Snow White's garden implies an understanding of motion, beyond the obvious displacement along the garden wall, as an ontological transformation of visitors' temporality. Visitors may, however, maintain a distinction between themselves and the objects in the garden, and they may indulge in contemplation, as Snow White seems to be contemplating the landscape that unfolds in front of her beyond the garden. This use of the landscape metaphor does not challenge the taken-for-granted duality of subject and object in the lifeworld³¹ of Pecqueur and his fellow villagers. Yet the analysis of the experience of discovering the garden has directed our attention to a study of intersubjectivity.

Pecqueur, Disney, and the visitors cannot be designated sole producers of a new sense of time in the forest grove in the garden. Instead we have discovered how the design by Pecqueur of the *allée*, the time lock, the forest grove, and its opening onto the industrial landscape have triggered a process of intersubjectivity allowing a new sense of time to emerge out of interactions between cultural knowledge and immediate perception. The meaning that arises, the reintegration of the industrial landscape of Ruitz into the everlasting realm of nature—which is *not* part of Snow White lore—contributes to incremental changes in the visitors' way of seeing and the cultural attitude toward its landscape of the community to which they belong. Thus as interpreters of the cultural efficacy of landscape metaphors, we renounce the primacy of individual subjectivity as a source of meaning in order to understand an experience of garden visitors who accept the duality of subject and object.

Landscape Figures and the Experience of Motion

These examples do not cover the range of experience of motion in a garden or landscape. On the contrary, they address rare occurrences that have produced unexpected results. In summary, motion in a landscape demands an act of memory before it can become an object

³¹ "In normal daily existence people are caught up in a state of affairs that the phenomenologist calls the *natural attitude*—the unquestioned acceptance of the things and experiences of daily living. The world of the natural attitude is generally called by the phenomenologist, the *lifeworld*—the taken-for-granted pattern and context of everyday life through which the person routinely conducts his day-to-day existence without having to make it an object of conscious attention." Seamon, *A Geography*, 20.

for aesthetic appreciation; a landscape metaphor signifies that motion through a garden or a landscape invites an interpretation by visitors that displaces the meaning of their own motion and moves them toward some new meaning. Through examples of the use of landscape metaphors since the Renaissance in both folk and courtly designs, we have learned that they differ in form as well as in the way they engage visitors. These landscape metaphors, however, allow visitors who experience them to transform the horizon of the time they live in and to transcend it in a culturally determined fashion to reach for a different horizon of temporality. This fusion of horizons may be exploited either to enable visitors to experience a transformation of their self or to allow them an imaginary move into a new temporality. We have also noted that the intertwining of motion in the landscape contributes to cultural dissemination.

These results may be of interest for both historical research and the development of new design ideas. They emphasize that sophisticated landscape designs could be predicated upon narratives derived from contemporary popular culture, a development that has been important for poetry, music, painting, and sculpture since the beginning of the twentieth century but has been rare in landscape architecture. However, this study of a few designs using a landscape metaphor barely scratches the surface of a systematic historical study of figures of communication through landscape architecture design. It suggests that this could be pursued by attending to the various forms of bodily engagement with gardens that may lead to self-involvement and proceed to a search for corresponding design figures present in different historical and cultural contexts.

In conclusion, I relate these remarks to a more general discussion of intersubjectivity in the social sciences. Landscape metaphors propose to visitors a system of signs that enable them to make sense of a specific aspect of their experiences in the garden. Hence they appear as figures of communication that imbue the garden with meaning. However, this meaning comes about only as the result of visitors' interpretation. That interpretation depends on (a) the cultural horizon for garden interpretation, which they "bring" to their visit, (b) their actions in the garden, and (c) their efforts at reflecting upon these actions. Thus the meaning of the garden belongs to the interactions between a *social and cultural practice* and visitor *perception*. The garden appears as an *interworld* rather than a *text*. This points to a limit to iconographical methods of interpretation for garden history.

It has further interesting consequences. Since the interpretation is reached only by a return of the visitors upon the memory of their visits, it forces a moment of reflection upon a visitor's self considered at a distance through the reflexive effort of memory as if it were an object. It allows, moreover, the self to be recast in a new perspective brought about by the cultural content to which the motion in the garden points. Thus it creates an opportunity for self-development. Most accounts of the construction of self and the sense of collective identity in phenomenological research insist on the role of linguistic communication only, demonstrating that language is an interworld that enables the construction of self at the same time as it enables the evolution of collective identity. Gardens then can be considered part of another type of communication system and may also contribute to the

construction of self through the individual interpretation of a personal experience of motion in a garden and to the construction of collective identities.

So in the same way that space and language share dialectically in the construction of human cultures, garden art and language are two different yet mutually related interworlds.

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